
MAP
OF
ANCIENT ATTICA
BY
K.O. Müller.
TANAGRAEA
THEBAIS
PARASOPIER
PLATAEAE
AERON
CITH
ONEION MOUNT
MEGARA
MEGARIS
ELEUSIS
ELEUTHERAE
PEDIEIS
ACHARNAE
PARNES
PENTELICUS
DIACRIA
TRICORYSIUS
EPACRIA
PARALIA
ATHENS
PIRAEUS
SALAMIS
AEGINA
Oropos
Delphinion
Amphiaraion
Psaphis
Rhamnus
Oenoe
Marathon
Eleon
Harma
Asopos
Tanagra
Thespiae
Thebes
Platea
Erythrae
Scolus
Gargettus
Sphragidion
Panactum
Cyllochorus
Tithorea
Aegosthena
Pagae
Tripodiscus
Cithaeron
Thriasian Field
Eleusinian Road
Saronian Road
Holy Land
Rheitoi
Scambonidae
Cerameicus
Agrae
Ilissus
Areopagus
Pnyx
Acropolis
Theseum
Olympieium
Temple of Apollo
Colonos
Cynosarges
Lyceum
Academia
Phaleron
Piraeus
Munichia
Zea
Thymocharis Tomb
Long Walls
Phalerum Wall
Peiraic Wall
Thorikos
Sunium
Cape Colonna
Prasiae
Brauron
Halae Araphenides
Myrrhinus
Aphrodite Colaenis
Probalinthos
Trinemeis
Decelea
Oenoe Decelearum
Lepsydrium
Oeasia
Phyle
Ceramicus
Cephisia
Hephaestiadae
Eupyridae
Erechtheus
Artemis Amarysia
Marmaria
Brilessus
Steiria
Steiria Road
Colias
Halimus
Phlya
Aexonides
Icaria
Prospalta
Anagyrus
Thoricus
Hydrussa
Aegilia
Besa
Sphettus
Silver Mines
Amphitrope
Laurium
Melaenis of Legrano
Azenia
Eleusis
Isl. of Patrocles
Helena
Mount Aesalus
Lithographed by J. Netherclift
0 1 2 3 4 Geogr. Miles
20 40 60 80 120 160 Olymp. Stadia
23° 30
24°
38°

ATTICA AND ATHENS:

AN INQUIRY INTO

THE CIVIL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, OF THE INHABITANTS,

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE ATHENIAN POWER,

AND THE TOPOGRAPHY AND CHOROGRAPHY OF ANCIENT ATTICA AND ATHENS.

With a Map and Plan.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF K. O. MÜLLER, GROTEFEND, AND OTHERS.

BY

JOHN INGRAM LOCKHART, F.R.A.S.

"Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits
Or hospitable—"

MILTON.

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ERRATA.

Page 10, line 22, read *south-east.*

,, 128, ,, 11, *et infra*, read *Etymologicum Magnum*

PREFACE.

When we reflect that Athens was the grand emporium of polite learning, where those great men were nurtured whose writings, to the present day, are the acknowledged models of purity and elegance of style—the place where the arts were brought to the highest degree of perfection, it is no marvel that any thing relating to that spot should deeply interest men of refined intellect. This work may be considered to be a philosophical inquiry with a view to determine the precise state of Athens, with regard to her civil, moral, and religious institutions; the names, origin, and customs of her inhabitants; and the topography and chorography of Attica and Athens. Dodwell, in the first volume of his "Topographical and Classical Tour through Greece," remarks that "those travellers who, of late years, have visited the celebrated city of Athens, have given descriptions of its antiqui-

ties and topography, but the subject is so exuberant that sufficient materials are still left to invite further research; but what are most wanted are topographical and accurate drawings, not only of Athens itself, but of all Greece." That greater accuracy, with respect to the topography of Athens and Attica, is now offered to the English reader in the first part of this account. Müller has laboured on this interesting subject with the usual deep research of a German scholar. He has carefully pointed out the errors in those authors who have written on the same subject, and has not omitted to adduce all passages and hints from the ancients which could strengthen his arguments. The method of investigation pursued by Müller may serve as a model to those who engage in inquiries of a similar nature. To those in particular who study the Greek writers, his work will prove highly instructive, and will, in many instances, shorten the student's labour. The Second Part is by Grotefend, Kanngieser, and Gruber; to which is appended a short account of the state of Attica and Athens about the year 1820. Grotefend has displayed great learning and ability in his suggestions on the origin of the goddess Athene, and the ancient mythology of Greece. He dispels the cloud of darkness which has so long hung over it, and satisfactorily proves whence it principally originated.

Kanngieser has given a brief but very comprehensive account of the different periods of the history of Athens. The reader's attention is also particularly called to Gruber's reflections on that glorious period, the administration of Pericles, and the cause of the subsequent decline and fall of Athens. His style is rich and energetic, his arguments convincing, his thoughts at once vivid and profound, strong and beautiful. The whole account is indeed short, but written in the excellent spirit of well-informed minds; and the reader will readily perceive how thoroughly the subject-matter has been digested by the authors, who have in no instance allowed the theories of fancy to usurp the place of sound reasoning. The translator may venture to say that more labour has been bestowed on the particular subjects treated of in this account than has been given to any works of a similar nature; while much light has been thrown on many points of Greek history which heretofore have been but partially known, or passed over as of no great moment, though essential to the right interpretation of many passages in the Greek writers. These considerations, together with the frequent solicitations of his friends who were able to judge of the merits of this account, have emboldened him to offer his translation to public notice.

The correctness of the accompanying map of

Attica and plan of Athens will be apparent on a diligent perusal of Müller's topography. It would also be very useful to compare them with those in Stuart's and Revett's "Antiquities of Athens," and those in the "Atlas pour servir au Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte, et la Perse, par G. A. Olivier," as numerous errors in the latter publications are pointed out.


SEPULCHRES
Gate of the Corpses
To the Academy
Dipylon or Thriasian Gate
Achamian Gate
Melitian Gate
COELE
ANCHESMOS
Spring of Panops
Frontispiece
Theseum
Heromoeum
Holy Gate
ΙΕΡΑΣΤΗ
Heptachalcon
CERAMICUS
LYCABETTUS
COLONUS
Tm Aphrodite
ARREOPAGUS
T. of the Furies
Clepsydra
MELITE
CYNOSARGES
Adrian's Aqueduct
Gate of Ægeus
Delphinium
North Wall
ΣΚΕΑΙ
Piræan Gate
South Wall
AGORA
Tholus
Metroum
Odeum of Herodes
ACROPOLIS
Propylæa
Erechtheum
Parthenon
Odeum of Pericles
Prytaneum
Monument of Lysicrates
Ancient Ruins
Aphrodite in the Gardens
Latitude of Athens 37. 57
Pantheon
Theatre of Dionysos
Pythium
Serapeum
Altar of Theseus & Peirithoos
T. of Eileithyia
Heroon
LYCEUM
Gate of Adrian
Panhellenion
MUSEUM
Monument of Philopappos
Olympieion
Ge Olympia
ADRIANS
Gate of Diochares
Altar of Boreas
Phalerian Wall
Odeum or the Ptolemies
Stele Amazonis
Ionian Gate
Artemis Agrotera
Stadium of Herodes
Ennacrunos
T. of Demeter
T. of Artemis Eucleia
AGRAE
Ilissos
0 1 2 3 4 Stadia.
PLAN
OF
ANCIENT ATHENS
BY
K.O. Müller.
J. Netherclift Lithog.

ATTICA AND ATHENS.

Attica, one of the eight districts into which central Greece (Hellas proper) was divided, is said to have been at first called Actæa, from Actæus or Actæon (man of the shore), its first occupant, who is termed an Autochthon (native of the soil); or Actice or Acte (shore), as consisting chiefly of a country bounded by the sea, which washes its rocky coast.[1]

Some derive the name of Attica from Atthis, daughter of Cranaus, who is represented as the second king of Athens. It is at least certain that Attica might with reason be called a *coastland*, as it forms a kind of peninsula.

Boundaries. — To the north, Bœotia and the Straits of Euripus; to the west, Megaris; to the south, the Saronic Gulf; and to the east, the Ægæan Sea.

Superficial Extent. — According to the most

[1] Marm. Arund. i. 4; Steph. Byz. Harpocr. Paus. iii. 11; Apollod. Fr. 1121; Plin. H. N. iv. 7; Mel. ii. 3.

accurate calculations, 41 geographical miles[1] (square), of which the continent measures $39\frac{1}{16}$.

Chorography, Soil, Products.—The Chorography of Attica is partly physical, partly political. The first, which comprehends the natural state of the country, is easily collected from the accounts of ancient and modern travellers, and has often been successfully treated. The second, which has for its object to discover the true locality of the demi (boroughs), and the political distribution of the phylæ, is subject, on the last point in particular, to the greatest difficulties. To explain or remove these entirely, does not suit this occasion, or the writer's powers. To investigate in detail points on which the English authors know how to attract their readers, by means of plates, charts, and a display of embellishment, is more than can be done in the meagre productions of one who cannot boast of ocular observation; we must therefore content ourselves by giving merely a general treatise on the physical part of the subject, and what concerns the political, as far as is practicable.

The heart of the country is formed of a ridge of mountains running southward from the Bœotian Cithæron, and has nearly the same direction as most of the islands and capes of the Ægæan Sea.

The Cithæron is a rugged and in most places inaccessible chain of rocky mountains, covered with

[1] See Kloeden's Computation, according to the latest map by Barbié du Bocage, in Boeckh's Political Economy of the Athenians, i. 34.

pines: hence it is now called ELATIAS. Towards the west it joins that chain of mountains which bound Attica on that side, and the ONEION[1] mountains of Megaris. Between these in particular there is an important pass and hollow way leading to Attica, which is sometimes called the *Three Heads*, sometimes the *Oak Heads* (Τρεῖς κεφαλαί, Δρυὸς κεφαλαί), probably from the projecting mountains. The highroad from Thebes, through the towns of Erythræ and Hysiæ, to Eleutheræ, a frontier city of Attica, ran along this hollow way, and thence onward to Eleusis and Athens.[2] This road, though by far the most important communication between Bœotia and Attica, was often rendered dangerous by robbers.[3]

It is true there is a by-road to Bœotia, which is not only narrower, but winds up steep rocks, which render it almost impassable.[4]

The PARNES, which joins the Cithæron chain towards the east, is the highest mountain of Attica, and stretches a considerable way from the plain of Thria (north of Eleusis[5]) to the north-east coast of Attica, where it gently slopes down to the sea, on the confines of Attica and Bœotia.[6] Its modern name is NOZEA.

Towards the south is the PENTELIC chain of moun-

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[1] Among others, see Proverb. Vatican. iii. 71.

[2] Paus. ix. 1, 3, 2, 2; Herod. ix. 19, 25, 39; Thucyd. iii. 24; Xenoph. Hell. v. 4, 14, 47, 55.

[3] Philostrat. Ikon. ii. 19, 841; Hemsterhuis on Lucian's Dialogue of the Dead, xxvii. 2.

[4] Barbié du Bocage in Stanhope's Topography of Platæa, 130.

[5] Seneca, Hippolyt. v. 5.

[6] Thucyd. iv. 96; Athen. v. 216 a; Plato, Critias, 110.

tains (now Mendeli), celebrated for its quarries. In the same neighbourhood of Athens,[1] but more to the south, is found the naked and rocky HYMETTUS (Trelo and Lambra-Vuna), with two peaks of different heights, the lower of which was called the "WATERLESS" (ἄνυδρος[2]). From this point, the mountains, gradually sloping downwards to the sea, terminate eastward in Cape Cynosura (Korugni), southwards in Cape Sunium (Capo Colonna), and towards the west in Cape Astypalæa and the promontory of Zoster.

The mountains of less note are—BRILESSUS, which seems to lie at no great distance from the Parnes, and near the sources of the principal branch of the Cephissus;[3] in the neighbourhood of Athens, ANCHESMUS (Sto. Georgio); between Eleusis and Athens, near the sea,[4] CORY-DALLUS (Daphni-Vuna), with the neighbouring promontory of Amphiale, from which point is the shortest passage to Salamis;[5] a little more to the north, on the road from Athens to Eleusis, the ÆGALEUS (Scarmanga), on which it is said that Xerxes was

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[1] Vitruv. ii. 8.

[2] Theophrast. de Sign. Plant. 419, Heins. A few lines below this we ought to read, instead of το Πέλιον, το Πενθελικόν. Comp. concerning the Hymettus, particularly Hobhouse's Albania, i. 388, second edition; Dodwell's Travels, i. p. 479.

[3] Thucyd. ii. 23; Theophrast. de Signis Tempest. p. 438, Heins.; Schol. Apoll. Rh. i. 212. Σιμωνίδης ἀπὸ Βριλησσοῦ φησίν Ὠρείθυιαν ἁρπαγεῖσαν. According to Cherilus, near the Cephissus; according to others, near the Ilissus; however, to correct Simonides would be wrong. See Sturz. Pherecyd. 176; Callim. Fragm. 185; Naece's Cherilus, 153.

[4] Strabo, ix. 395; Theophrast. Athen. ix. 390.

[5] Strabo, ix. 395.

seated to view the battle;[1] in the city itself, the steep hill of the Acropolis; to the north-west, the hill of Ares (Mars' Hill, or Areopagus); towards the west, the elevated site of the Pnyx; and to the south of this, Lycabettus. This is probably the same as the hill of the Museum (so called from a sanctuary erected on it), lying in the immediate vicinity of the city, and celebrated on account of the astronomical observations made there by Meton.[2]

On either side of the chief mountains, but particularly on the western, are fine plains, through which the mountain-streams have a more regular course, and become small rivers. The most considerable plain lies between the Hymettus and Corydallus, in which the city of Athens itself is situate, called τὸ πεδίον, also *Cecropia*.[3] In this valley the olive-tree thrived, and agriculture prospered.[4]

The Eupatrides, the ancient nobility, had early seized upon this spot, and during the early troubles of the state the Pedians, or men of the plain, are mentioned as wealthy land-owners. This tract of land is watered by the Cephissus and the Ilissus, the former of which takes its rise in the mountainous country near

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[1] Herod. viii. 90; Thucyd. ii. 19; Istrus, Schol. Soph. Œdip. Col. 1059; Pliny, iv. 7; Dodwell, i. 509.

[2] Comp. Plato in Critias, 112; Pliny, iv. 7; Theophrast. de Signis Pluviar. 416, Heins.; Antig. Caryst. xii. 22; Beckmann, Suidas, Salmasius, Solin. 522. The maps in general place the Lycabettus, with Sir George Wheler, near the Parnes; this is altogether erroneous. Dodwell (i. 496) distinguishes two mountains by that name.

[3] Thucyd. ii. 19, 55. Comp. Schœmann, de Comitiis, 342, et seq.

[4] Lysias on the Sacred Olive-tree, 110, 22.

Trinemeis. During winter, and by sudden heavy rains, it is much swollen, but in the summer season it scarcely covers the bottom of its deep bed along the plain. It empties itself in the sea in the neighbourhood of the Phalerian[1] haven.[2]

The Ilissus, still more insignificant, flows on the other side to the south of the city; it is often quite dried up, and scarcely reaches the sea.[3]

The Cephissus, however, will ever retain its poetical fame, on account of its pure and sweet water. Callimachus, on the contrary, laughs heartily at those poets who had sung of the pure water of the Attic Eridanus (in the vicinity of the city), out of which even the cattle would not deign to drink.[4] Nor is the Ilissus any longer that clear and pellucid little river whose banks were overshadowed by plane-trees, as described by Plato in his Phædrus. At present it flows sluggishly along through a stony and barren soil; its banks are mostly destitute of verdure, only here and there ornamented by the rhododendron, Agnus Castus, and a beautiful variety of thistles.

The source of the Ilissus is in Hymettus; a clear, large, and constant stream of water, bordered by different kinds of indigenous plants and shrubs; probably the same which Cratinus calls Callia, and

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[1] According to the map, in the neighbourhood of the Piræan haven.—*Translator's note.*

[2] Strabo, ix. 400; Larcher, on Herodotus, viii. 111, et seq.

[3] Concerning the Ilissus, see Hemsterhuis on Aristoph. Plutus, 180.

[4] Frag. 359, Ernesti; Strabo, ix. 397; Plato, Critias, 112.

which Ovid has so charmingly described in the neighbourhood of a temple dedicated to Aphrodite.[1]

A broad and deep river, now called Megalo-Potamo, which rises in the Parnes, and flows some miles until lost in the different canals of the olive-gardens, is probably the ancient CYCLOBORUS.[2]

The COUNTRY NEAR THE COAST, south of the city, is swampy, and seems to have been more so formerly, since the names of the different towns in that direction,—for instance, Halipedon, Echelidæ, Halæ, Æxonides,[3]—indicate a swampy soil. It is, moreover, certain that this district gradually becomes less marshy, and as the mountain-streams continually bring down sand and pebbles, the beds in consequence will become more firm.

Those numerous SPRINGS which serve in particular to supply the want of fresh water to the sterile country which surrounds the city, are of the first importance. This is a gift of nature on which the Greeks even to this day set the highest value, and speak of with enthusiasm; but these even, it has been said, were more numerous in ancient times, of which, according to Plato, chapels and sacred places near dried-up springs give sufficient proofs.[4]

The salt spring in the temple of Erechtheus on the citadel was more curious than useful; so also the bitter water of Clepsydra, in the same place, which,

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[1] Suidas, ii. 393; Ovid, Ars Amandi, iii.; Dodwell, i. 486.

[2] Aristoph. Knights, 137; Hesych. Suidas, Dodwell, 475.

[3] See particularly Xenoph. Hellen. ii. 4, 30, 34.

[4] Plato, Critias, 111.

after running to some distance underground, made its reappearance at Phalerum.[1] But the sweet-flowing *Callirrhoe* (since the time of the Pisistratidæ called *Enneacrunos*, and still later *Dodecacrunos*), near the channel of the Ilissus;[2] the spring of Penops, between the Academy and the Lyceum;[3] the springs and fountains of limpid water in front of the gate of Diochares[4] were better adapted to satisfy the pressing want of water. Through the gardens of the Lyceum aqueducts[5] were constructed (ὀχετοί[6]), which supplied those fountains, which, as well as their proper distances from each other, were established and regulated by Solon.[7]

In the same manner Adrian and Antoninus Pius brought fresh water, by means of a simple aqueduct, from the more elevated districts to the town they founded, called New Athens.[8]

Another considerable plain is enclosed by the Parnes, Cithæron, and the Megarian boundary-chain

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[1] Aristoph. Lysistr. 913; Plutarch, Antoninus, 34; Istrus, in Schol. Aristoph. Birds, 1693; Hesychius, Καλλιρρόην. Comp. Plin. H. N. ii. 108; Paus. i. 21. There, however, still remains much uncertainty with regard to this spring, which requires further investigation.

[2] Besides other passages in Meurs. Ceramicus, xiv. 439, particularly Cratinus, in a very instructive fragment by Tzetzes, Chil. 8, Hist. 184, v. 259; also Schol. Aristoph. Knights, 523. Comp. the Socratic Axiochus, 364 a; Dodwell, i. 472.

[3] Plato, Lysias, 109, Bekker.

[4] Strabo, ix. 397 b.

[5] Probably watercourses, or *pipes* (ὀχετοί) *under ground*, rather than what is generally meant by an *aqueduct.—Translator's note.*

[6] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. i. 10; Hawkins, in Walpole's Memoirs.

[7] Plutarch, Solon, xxiii. 519.

[8] Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, i. 28.

of mountains, namely, that of Eleusis, Thria, and Eleutheræ;[1] here it is immediately connected with the Bœotian chain of mountains, and forms a kind of indented bay.[2] Near Eleusis it stretches along over against the sea of Salamis.[3] This valley, like the one just described, is productive of corn, and otherwise much favoured by nature. It is separated from the former by the mountains Corydallus and Ægaleus, and by a small river.

There is another rivulet near Eleusis, which takes its rise in the Cithæron, and though during winter it inundates the whole plain, in summer it is nothing more than an empty channel, and, like the river which runs through the plain of Athens, it is called Cephissus.[4] Towards the west this plain is bounded by the mountains of Megaris, of which the Horns, or Cerata, form a part.[5] Part of this plain is holy ground, the jurisdiction of the Eleusinian temple. This sacred ground, however, was cultivated with no less care than the unconsecrated.

Here was the Rarian Plain (Ῥάριον πεδίον), where, according to tradition, the first barley was grown in Attica. Between the jurisdiction of Eleusis and Megaris was an uncultivated strip of land (γῆς τῆς

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[1] See Galen, π. διαγνώσεως τ. ἰδ. παθ. 173, 2, Ald.

[2] Comp. the verse with Strabo, viii. 375.

[3] Comp. the plan of Eleusis, printed in 1781, by Foucherot, in Sainte Croix "sur les Mystères," the new edition. The "Unedited Antiquities of Attica" I have not yet seen.

[4] Syncellus, 349, Paris; Dodwell, i. 585.

[5] Plutarch, Themistocles, 13.

ἀορίστου[1]), which always remained so (uncultivated), in order that the holy might be strictly separated from the profane. On the other side channels of sea water anciently formed the boundaries to this holy enclosure. These channels, or ῥειτοί, served for the purifications of the initiated (τῶν μυστῶν), and the fisheries in them belonged to the domain of the deity.[2]

The plain of Athens and the one just described formed the coast district (ἀκτή), which, according to an ancient division of Attica, is said to have been the inheritance of Ægeus.[3]

As a boundary-mark towards the Megarian state is mentioned the Pythium, a celebrated temple in the demus of Œnoe,[4] situate on the confines of Megaris, Bœotia, and Attica, above the Eleusinian plain. The country surrounding this demus and that of the neighbouring Eleutheræ was considered uncommonly fertile.[5]

In this division, besides Megaris, which likewise, it is said, formed part of Attica in very ancient times, are mentioned the Diacria and Paralia of Attica. Of these the Paralia is a tract lying to the west of the town, round about the promontory of Sunion,[6] a hilly

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[1] Thucyd. i. 139.

[2] Paus. i. 38; Hesych. Ῥειτοί.

[3] Comp. the quotations of Strabo, ix. 392, particularly from Sophocles, with the Schol. Aristoph.; Lysistr. 58; Wasps, 1218; Eurip. Hippolyt. 35.

[4] Philochor. ap. Schol. Soph. Œdip. Col. 1047.

[5] Οἰνόη σύγχορτα ναίειν πεδία ταῖς τ' Ἐλευθεραῖς, is the verse which Strabo (ix. 375) has quoted, with a false reading.

[6] Thucyd. ii. 55; Steph. Byz. Schol. Eurip. Hippolyt. 35.

country, stretching along the coast, unfit for agriculture, but excellently situated for commerce. The DIACRIA, on the other hand, comprises the mountainous country along the east coast, downwards from the Parnes to Cape Cynosura, nearly opposite the island of Eubœa. Since this tract of land lies on the other side of the mountain from the city, it is called *Hyperacria*.[1]

Mountainous, however, as this part of Attica may be, it comprises, nevertheless, many level tracts. As, for instance, that to the east of the Hymettus, and that smaller but remarkable one of MARATHON, being nineteen English miles in a straight line from Athens to the north-east of the Pentelicus. Here the mountains form a deep defile, which runs towards the sea, and gradually ends in a level space of about five English miles long and two broad; it cannot serve, however, to this whole extent for the field of battle, being confined on both sides by swamps and bogs. A small stream runs between these mountains, the source of which is called *Macaria*. A little higher up is a grotto of Pan, who was of such great assistance to the warriors of Marathon. Most likely lay also in this neighbourhood the sacred enclosure of Hercules, whose sons, according to tradition, inhabited this place and the neighbouring districts.

The great tumulus of the Athenians, twenty-five feet high (a πολυάνδριον, on which stood a stele, or column,

[1] Comp. Platner de Gent. Atticis earumque cum tribubus nexu, but particularly Schœmann de Comitiis, 343.

with the names of the fallen warriors inscribed on it), has lately been opened by Fauvel, but he found very little else than arrow-points made of stone. There yet remain the bases of two monuments of Pentelic marble (monuments of Echetlæus and Miltiades).[1]

Towards the middle of Attica, between Athens and Marathon, were the stony and almost treeless fields of PHELLEUS,[2] where, probably, that kind of stone called Phellates was found.

The mountains of Attica, like most in the south of Greece, are of a CALCAREOUS nature. A particularly hard kind of calcareous stone, of a blue colour, and very useful in architecture, is found at Eleusis.[3] A similar kind was also produced from a quarry near the promontory of Amphiale;[4] but on the hills in the interior it is found of a particularly compact and granulated nature. This is covered with a stratum of slate, on which the marble lies. *Serpentin* is also found on the declivities of the Hymettus and Pentelicus. Both these mountains produced EXCELLENT MARBLE, the last especially those fine kinds which were both used in sculpture and architecture.

Marble was an article of exportation from Athens.[5]

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[1] Paus. i. 32; Clarke's Travels, part ii. sect. iii. 12, tf. 3–5; the plan of Marathon, from the papers of Col. Squire, in Walpole, i. 329; Dodwell's Tour through Greece, i. 15, 8.

[2] Plato, Critias, 111; Aristoph. Acharn. 273; Clouds, 71, admitted that the demus of Dicæopolis was situated not far from Acharnæ.

[3] Clarke, ii. 2, 449, 591; Appendix to Geology of Attica, by Holland, Travels, p. 417.

[4] Strabo, ix. 395 b. Λατόμιον particularly to be distinguished from the λιθοτομίαι, "marble quarry."

[5] Xenoph. on the Revenue, i.

Even at the present day it is clearly visible what huge masses must have been hewn from the mountains.[1] The Pentelic marble, according to mineralogical accounts, is laminated, easily split, and interspersed with green stripes (*cipollino*).[2] The districts of Laurium and Rhamnus also produced fine marble.

The best POTTERS' CLAY is found in the neighbourhood of the promontory Colias, from which the finest earthenware vessels and caldrons were made; these were coloured red with vermilion.[3]

But no treasures of Attica were equal to her SILVER MINES. By the proper application of the profits arising from these, Athens from the very beginning established her rank among the free states of Greece. The Laurian mines (Λαύρεια, the mountain Λαύρειον or Λαύριον) were situate in a rugged and mountainous district, extending about sixty stadia between Anaphlyst towards the west, and Thoricus towards the east.[4]

The most elevated point between the two last-mentioned places is called Besa.[5] Besides silver, they produce much lead.[6]

Near Thoricus was found the so-tèrmed Attic lead-

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[1] Olivier's Travels, i. 527; Dodwell, i. 301.

[2] Dolomieu, in Millin. Monum. Ined. II. i. 44.

[3] Plutarch, de Auditione, c. vi.; Athenæus XI. 482 b; Suidas, Κωλιάδος κεραμῆες, Schol. Aristoph. Clouds, 362. The Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, who lived there (Suidas, Etymol. 550, 41), is proof of the vicinity of the Hymettus.

[4] Xenoph. on the Revenue, iv. 44; Hobhouse's Travels through Albania, i. 417.

[5] Xenoph. ad loc. 43.

[6] Aristot. Œconom. b. ii. Τὸν μόλυβδον τὸν ἐκ τῶν Λαυρίων, according to Sylburg's and Boeckh's corrections.

coloured smaragdus, found, as it appears, in the copper mines.[1] Quicksilver is also found in the silver mines,[2] and a kind of dye, called the Attic Sil,[3] being most probably a species of iron ochre, of a bright yellow colour.

The silver mines were, even previous to the time of Themistocles, and up to the time of Xenophon, both very profitable to individuals, who rented single veins, and to the state, which first received the money for which each single vein was sold originally, and then an annual rental, fixed according to the current profits. As early, however, as in the time of Philip, the richest ores were exhausted, and in the first century of the Christian era those veins which at first were so valuable entirely failed.[4]

When the whole mine-country of Attica was appropriated to make Athens the grand emporium and seat of polite learning, the nature of its vegetable productions may also be said to have had a vast influence on the mode of life and even on the dispositions of the Athenians. Attica had not the rich, black, wheat-bearing soil of Bœotia, which the streams had washed down as silt into the basin of the Lake Copais, nor that damp and heavy atmosphere which caused the country of Thebes to appear an ever-verdant garden;

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[1] Plin. xxxvii. 17, 18.

[2] Theophrast. on Stones, sect. xlvi.; Plin. xxxiii. 37–40.

[3] Vitruv. vii. 7; Plin. xxxiii. 56, 57.

[4] With Boeckh, concerning the Laurian mines of Attica, in the Treatises of the Berlin Academy, 1816, 85, compare "On the Mines of Laurium," in Walpole's Memoirs, 425.

consequently, it neither produced those square-built and powerful athletæ, the *beau idéal* of the Bœotian Hercules; but her inhabitants were of a more slender make, with minds more refined, and dispositions more excitable.

Though, according to Plato's fantastical account, the soil of Attica, once of a richer nature, had been gradually washed away by the rivers and heavy rains, owing to the steep declivity of the coasts, so that, as it were, the bones only are remaining of the once fleshy body. In such a way we can account for Attica still producing all kinds of fine-flavoured fruits, but not in such great abundance as formerly.[1]

Conformably to this state of the soil, Attica produces but little wheat, though barley is more plentiful, which, owing to a warm soil, impregnated with saltpetre, ripens thirty days earlier than in the Peloponnesus, and even considerably earlier than in the neighbouring Salamis.[2]

Agriculture, however, was highly esteemed, and stood closely connected with the chief religious institutions of the state, the worship, namely, of the Eleusinian Demeter and Athena Polias.[3]

At Athens there were three sacred foundations in which priests drove the plough; first at *Sciron*, on the road from Athens to Eleusis, the superintendence of

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[1] Critias, 111.

[2] Dodwell, ii. 9. Compare, concerning agriculture of Attica, Sibthorp, in Walpole, i. 141.

[3] Minervæ Poliadis Sacra et Ædem in Arce Athenarum. Illustr. C. O. Müller, c. i. et ii.

which ceremony belonged to the family of the Butades; secondly, near *Eleusis*, on the *Rarian field*, under the management of the Eleusinian priesthood; lastly, on the lower side of the citadel of Athens, according to an ancient institution in honour of *Buzyges* (ἄροτον Βουζύγιον).[1]

There can be no doubt that the Athenians cultivated their lands with extraordinary care and great intelligence. What the soil wanted in natural richness was supplied by the labour of numerous slaves. Hence it was that land-owners, under all circumstances, could reckon upon good crops,[2] and that Attica, during its flourishing period of cultivation, could maintain 500,000 souls (of which, according to Boeckh, 135,000 were free-born, and the remaining 365,000 slaves) by her own produce, added to an annual importation of 1,000,000 of medimni.

The fruits in Attica, especially the figs and olives, were particularly delicious, and of a fine flavour. Owing to a warm and genial climate they ripened earlier, and continued longer in season, than those of other countries.[3] To this day there are extensive woods of OLIVE-TREES on the Cephissus, but their cultivation has ceased.

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[1] Plutarch, Præcept. Conjugal. vii. 425, Hutsen.

[2] Berthelemy, Anacharsis, c. lix.; Boeckh's State Economy, i. 44, 84, where it is stated that Attica could produce 2,000,000 of medimni of corn, according to which it is considered that 888,890 plethra were sown, and that the seed yielded six fold.

[3] Introduction to Xenoph. on the Revenue; Dicæarchus, Βίος Ἑλλάδος, in Creuzer's Meletemm. part iii. p. 181; enumeration of fruits and vegetables in Attica by Dodwell, ii. 495.

The olive-tree, which must be particularly distinguished from the wild oleaster (κότινος), is not indigenous to Greece, but appears to have been brought from Asia by way of the islands of the Ægæan Sea. It was nowhere more carefully cherished than in Attica, where it stood closely connected with sacred institutions, and was placed under the protection of the state, particularly to guard against the nobler plant becoming intermixed with the wild and luxuriant oleaster.

The olive-tree standing in the porch of Pandrosus, on the citadel, was considered the oldest, from which, it is said, were next propagated the twelve trees in the Academy near the Temple of Pallas; and from these last again the other sacred olive-trees (μορίαι, called when they grew old σηκοί) growing on the plain of the Cephissus, and in the grounds and gardens of private individuals. The care and management of these plants rested with the Areopagus, and the goddess Athena herself watched over the cultivation of this sacred tree. In general, no olive-tree might be rooted up, unless to serve religious purposes.[1]

In the same way as Athena watched over the cultivation of the olive-tree, Demeter protected that of the FIG-TREE. This is evident from the sacred fig-tree of Eleusis, from which that part of the suburbs of

[1] Vouchers and details in the already quoted treatise on the sacred rites of Minerva Polias, p. 30, concerning the ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος, in a pretended pantheon, sixty stadia from the Ilissus, in Aristotle's Mirabilia Auscult. p. 96; Schol. Aristoph. Plutus, 586. See Hemsterhuis on this passage.

Athens, on the holy road to Eleusis, was called Ἱερὰ συκῆ,[1] where tradition says the goddess produced the first fig-tree. The fig-tree plantations of that place were under the care of a particular family, who devoted themselves to its cultivation; indeed, every employment in the primitive ages was hereditary. Hence they were called the φυταλίδαι, and lived anciently near the Cephissus.[2] To say that the exportation of figs was at any time prohibited is a mere fable; that of olives was considerable.[3]

The WINE of Attica was not very fine, though pleasant to the taste (βότρυς Νικοστράτεια).[4] Icaria, on Mount Icarus (though at present the situation is unknown), was celebrated of old as a place where the vine grew, from the circumstance of Dionysius's reception. The vine-growers of Athmonon were considered very skilful.[5]

The FORESTS on the mountains not being properly thinned and protected, there was a deficiency especially of ship timber.[6]

The HONEY of Attica was very celebrated for its fine flavour, particularly from the bees which sucked

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[1] Philostratus, V.; Sophist. II. xx. p. 602; Meursius Eleus. c. xxvii.

[2] Paus. i. 37, 2. Compare Plutarch, Thes. xii. 23. Concerning the sacred fig-tree, see Schol. Aristoph. Plutus, xxxi. Among the figs, the ἰσχάδες Τιθράσιαι, Athenæus, xiv. 652 c; also from Ægila (Αἴγιλα). But from what place in Attica came the Chelidonian? Lynceus in Athen. 652 d.

[3] Boeckh's State Economy, i. 45.

[4] Lynceus in Athenæus, xiv. 654.

[5] Schol. Aristoph. Peace.

[6] Plato, Critias, 111.

the serpyllum, silphium, and thyme of the Hymettus.[1] But the most celebrated of all was that from the district of the mines,[2] called ἀκάπνιστον, or ἄκαπνον. Solon even made ordinances concerning the propagation of bees.[3]

The chief products of Attica[4] were — honey, fine bread, figs, wool, myrtles, perfumes, cheese, and water.

The BREED OF CATTLE in Attica was well suited to the soil. The most numerous was that of the mountain goat, beloved of Bacchus, from which one of the four ancient tribes was called Ægicores, which afterwards became the name of a district.

There was also a fine breed of sheep, which found a plentiful pasture in the aromatic herbage of the mountains.[5] There also existed ancient laws for promoting the breed of sheep; for instance, the priestess of Pallas durst not sacrifice a sheep until it had once lambed, or had been shorn.[6] At the present time there are about 60,000 sheep and 100,000 goats in Attica. Every winter numerous flocks come down from the Thessalian mountains[7] to feed in the valleys. The slaughtering of kine was even more strictly limited by the ancient sacred laws. "Do not harm the

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[1] Theophrast. Hist. Pl. 6, 7; Athen. xv. 681 e; Pollux, vi. 10.

[2] Strabo. Compare Pliny, ix. 15.

[3] Plutarch, Solon, 23; Petit's Laws of Attica, v. 1, 6.

[4] Antiphanes in Athen. ii. 43 b. Compare Lynceus' Comparison between the Produce of Attica and Rhodes, xiv. 647.

[5] Demosthenes against Euerg. 1155; Athen. xii. 540.

[6] Androtion in Athen. ix. 374 c.

[7] Sibthorp in Walpole, i. p. 141.

ploughing ox," was an injunction among the *thesmoi*, or laws of Triptolemus;[1] however, these and similar ordinances were soon disregarded. Horses in earlier times were very scarce, and even in later times could only be kept by the wealthy. There was scarcely any nourishment for them on the poor and hilly country of Attica; but asses and mules were more numerous.

The sea, on the other hand, was more productive, particularly in pelamydes, a species of tunny. Among the feathered tribe, partridges and ἀπταγὴν, a species of woodcock, were particularly distinguished.[2] The wild boar and bear were hunted on the Parnes.[3] Nor had the wolves been totally destroyed in Attica. Any one who killed one of these animals, sacred to Apollo, was forced to raise a tumulus over it, but was rewarded, according to a statute of Solon, with five drachms.[4]

Though it were possible to describe the physical state of the country by a sketch of the mountains and rivers, with an enumeration of its good qualities and productions, we should be able to form a just notion of its most distinguishing peculiarity only by personal inspection.

Travellers admire the gentle elevation of the lines which form the contour of the mountains, which, seen through a clear and transparent atmosphere, assume the most brilliant and glowing colours. The Hymettus

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[1] Porphyry de Abstin. iv. 22, p. 378. Compare Philochorus in Athen. ix. 375 c.

[2] Athen. xiv. 652.

[3] Paus. i. 32, 1.

[4] Plutarch, Solon, 23; Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 124; Hesych. Λυκαβηττός.

has been very properly termed, by an ancient poet, "*the purple-coloured,*" because, when viewed from Athens about an hour before sunset, it appears of such a deep purple hue as in a painting would seem exaggerated. This sky, which pervades Attica and the islands of the Ægæan Sea, reflects every object seen through it with a double lustre, life, and freshness. To this is owing the PRESERVATION of those masterpieces of ancient art which have not been destroyed by barbarians, and which may be seen with great clearness at a vast distance.

Thus Euripides praises the Erechthidæ :—

> "Lo! where the blest Cecropean race,
> Through many a rolling age renowned
> (Who from the gods their lineage trace,
> And their unconquered sacred ground),
> Nurtured in wisdom's noblest lore,
> The purest air delighted breathe,
> The clearest skies beneath;
> Where, as they say, in times of yore,
> The Muses from Pieria's chaste retreat
> Planted their loved Harmonia's golden seat."[1]

The influence of THE WINDS on the climate and temperature of Attica is nowhere better represented than by the carved statues of the marble tower built for the Athenians by Andronicus Cyrrhestes, and provided with a sun-dial, water-clock, and vane.[2]

The cold *Boreas* (N.), which brings snow and sleet, has a bluff and shaggy appearance; he is blowing a

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[1] Medea, 820.

[2] Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, i. 16; Wilkins' Atheniensia, p. 171.

blast through a twisted shell, while his garment is swelled out by the wind.

Cæcias (N.E.) has a damp and dark aspect; his flight is heavy and slow; his dripping hair hangs straight down; he holds an open vessel filled with hailstones.[1]

The mild *Apeliotes* (E.) spreads a beneficial warmth around, and sends its gentle showers to ripen the fruits, which he pours out from the bosom of his garment.

Eurus (S.E.) brings thunder-storms during the hot summer months; his heavy flight and dark countenance denote the sultry season.

Notus (S.) opens above all his capacious urn, and water appears to stream profusely from his hair and garments.

Libs (S.W.); his countenance appears parched and shrivelled by the scorching heat, though at the same time very favourable to the commerce of Athens, wafting the ships into the Piræus; for which reason he holds an aplustre (ἄφλαστον) in his hands.

But how sweet and gentle the young *Zephyrus* (W.) appears to fly along; his broad and youthful chest is uncovered, while his soft curly hair, entwined with flowers, flows gracefully in the wind; kindness and beneficence beam from his countenance.

His boisterous neighbour *Sciron* (N.W.), who suddenly brings frost, hail, and snow-showers, holds with both hands a vessel filled with charcoal, as if denoting thereby how we are to guard ourselves against his cold

[1] Compare Theophrastus de Ventis, 410; de Signis Ventorum, 422.

blasts. Without this circle are the *Etesian monsoons*, which commence blowing at the rising of Sirius, from the north, from the Black Sea over the Archipelago.[1] Had not Aristæus, that generous protector of the flocks, brought down these winds from heaven by his prayers and sacrifices in Ceos, the heat in Attica in the midst of summer would have been insupportable.

Topography.—The special topography of Attica depends upon a careful discrimination of the localities of the several demi, or boroughs. For this inquiry we have three different sources:—the accounts of ancient writers, inscriptions, and, lastly, the similarity of the modern with the ancient names of districts. It is, however, to be regretted that we have not a more accurate map of modern Attica, giving all its villages and districts, without which Stuart's[2] comparison of the ancient with the modern names can never be of much use. Neither do the inscriptions always indicate the localities with much accuracy. Thus this investigation, which is any thing but unimportant, is still far behindhand, and we must be content on this occasion to place in their relative order the facts that have been verified, without giving upon that account still deeper researches.

Among the ancients are Diodorus, Phrynichus, Nicomander of Thyatira, Dionysius, Euphorion, Di-

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[1] See, besides, Polybius, v. 354, and others; Dodwell, ii. 8. Also, for the direction of these winds, Herodotus, ii. 20, vi. 140; Apollon. Rh. ii. 498.

[2] Antiquities of Athens, iii. p. 7.

dymus, who have severally written on the demi of Attica.

Polemon, the celebrated topographer, enumerates 174 demi.[1] Meursius (*de Populis Atticis*) has given a like number, and among other of his unaccountable mistakes he calls almost every hill a demus. Jacob Spon has, with even less critical tact, laid down many from inscriptions which he had misunderstood. Corsini[2] was the first who threw light on this subject. We shall commence this enumeration with the north-east coast of Attica.

Here we first meet with Oropus (Oropo), a city on the Bœotian boundaries, two miles from the sea, three from the Asopus, and an easy day's march from Athens.[3] Properly speaking, it was inhabited by Bœotians; and although, previous to the battle of Marathon,[4] it belonged to the Athenians, yet it never formed a demus. It was several times lost and retaken, but subsequent to the 115th Olympiad the Athenians lost it for ever.[5]

Twenty stadia farther on is the haven Delphinium. The passage from this place across to New Eretria is sixty stadia.[6]

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[1] Strabo, ix. 396 c. [2] Fasti Attici, P. I. diss. v.

[3] Orchomenus, p. 490; Dicæarch's Life of Hellas, p. 170. For διὰ δαφνίδον perhaps we must read διὰ Δελφινίου, according to Marx, in Creuzer's Meletemm. part iii. p. 184.

[4] Herod. vi. 100; Orchomenus, 411.

[5] Compare also the inscriptions at Caluno, three miles from Oropo, found among the donaria, or gifts, in the Oropian temple of Amphiaraus, of which Visconti speaks, in Mémoires sur la Collection d'Elgin, p. 146.

[6] Eclaircissement ix. of this Strabo of the French literati, book ix.

In the same neighbourhood PSAPHIS (Aulitopi), and near this was the oracle of Amphiaraus.[1] RHAMNUS, sixty stadia from Marathon, on the sea, in a northerly direction, celebrated for its peculiar worship of Aphrodite Nemesis, and the famous statue of the goddess sculptured by Agoracritus.[2] This place is now called Abrio-Castro or Stauro-Castro, and there are yet remaining ruins of the temple and fortifications which are mentioned by Scylax.

The adjacent district on the coast comprehends four considerable demi, called the TETRAPOLIS, which, it is said, formed one (or even four) of the twelve ancient Ionic states of Attica.[3] Farthest to the north, in a marshy country lay TRICORYTHUS, most probably near the sea.[4]

The site of MARATHON, now Marathona, is more accurately determined. Of the temples in this district are known the Heracleum and Delium; this last was closely connected with the sacred processions of the Athenians to Delos.[5]

Herodes Atticus was a Marathonian, and we may safely consider that those marble busts (of Socrates,

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[1] Strabo, ix. 399; Spon, p. 40. No doubt this Psaphis is in some way connected with the Arcadian Psophis, where it is said Alcmæon, son of Amphiaraus, lost his life.

[2] Paus. i. 33, 2; Zoëga on the Rhamnisian goddess, in his Treatises published by Welker, p. 56.

[3] Philochorus περὶ Τετραπόλεως by Siebelis, p. 83. Compare p. 16 of the Etymological Magazine.

[4] Strabo, ix. 399; Spon, p. 37; Schol. Aristoph. Lysistratus

[5] Philochorus, Schol. Soph. Œdip. Col. 1102.

M. Aurelius, and others) which have been recently dug up there, were once his property.[1]

Œnoe, in the Phyle Æantis, belonged also to the Tetrapolis.[2] Lastly, Probalinthus, rather more to the south on the coast.[3]

Near Marathon is the demus Phegæa or Phegæus.[4] Between this place and Brauron lay Araphen and Halæ Araphenides.[5] Here, as in the neighbouring Brauron, was the worship of the Taurian Artemis[6] (ταυροπόλος). Near to this was Myrrhinus (Myrrenda), where Artemis was likewise worshipped, and traditionary honours were paid to an ancient native king, named Colænus.[7]

Brauron (now Braona, according to Wheler, Branna), on the south side of the Marathonian Plain, was celebrated above most of the boroughs of Attica for religious rites, temples, and mythi. Here the Taurian Artemis was honoured with the most solemn festivals, on which occasion the virgins of Attica had

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[1] Catalogue d'Antiq. de Choiseul Gouffier, p. 21.

[2] Pliny, iv. 7; other passages in Barbié du Bocage, Histoire de la Bourgade d'Œnoe, in Stanhope's Topography of the Battle of Platæa. Ptolomæus puts it at 53° longitude and 37° 30′ latitude more to the west than Rhamnus (53° 15′ longitude and 37° 30′ latitude), and more to the north than Marathon (53° 15′ longitude and 37° 20′ latitude).

[3] Strabo, ix. 399 a.

[4] Stephanus, sub verbo Ἀλαὶ — Φηγίως τοῦ πρὸς Μαραθῶνι writes Φηγαιέως. Compare Diodorus in Harpocr.

[5] Stephanus on this passage.

[6] Euripides, Iphig. Taur. 1451, Callim. Dion. 172, and the defective passage in Strabo, ix. 399.

[7] Paus. i. 31, 3. Compare Hellanicus in Schol. Aristoph. Birds, 873.

to perform certain ceremonies (ἀρκτεία) before they could marry. Here, also, the Brauronian Dionysia were celebrated every fifth year with processions and chanting of rhapsodies.[1] The tradition of the landing of the priestess Iphigenia was also connected with the worship of Artemis.[2]

In the neighbourhood of Brauron, as many circumstances indicate, was PHILAIDÆ,[3] so called from Philæus, son of Ajax (perhaps the modern Philiati on the Hymettus). Brauron was formerly one of the twelve independent towns of the Ionians. Here it is said that Philæus lived when he settled in Attica.

Next to Brauron follows in succession along the coast, STEIRIA,[4] a very considerable borough. The ὁδὸς Στειριακὴ ran from this place to Athens.[5] Next we find PRASIÆ (Prassa), with the harbour *Panormus*, now Porto Raphti.[6] This place was a connecting link between Athens and Delos, in the worship of Apollo. Hence the temple of Apollo in that place, the tomb of the Delian hero Erysichton, and a tradition that the presents of the Hyperboreans were sent over from this place to the holy island.[7] On one of the hills in the

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[1] See Meursius, de Popul. Att. Cecrop. 5, Græc. fer. 2, p. 66; Corsini, Fast. Att. II. p. 317. That the Dionysia of Brauron were quinquennial (though denied there), is proved in Aristoph. Peace, 870; although the Artemisia seem also to have been so.

[2] See the same, p. 311.

[3] Compare Plutarch, Solon, 10, with the Schol. Aristoph. Birds, 873. Suidas ἄρκτος, and farther below Ἐμβαρος.

[4] Strabo, ix. 399.

[5] See the pseudo-Platonic Hipparch. 229.

[6] Livy, xxxi. 45.

[7] Paus. i. 31.

neighbourhood is a statue in a sitting posture, but too much defaced to be satisfactorily explained.[1]

Then follows POTAMOS,[2] with the tomb of Ion. THORICUS, without doubt the modern Thorico, near a small haven (Porto-Mandri). The inhabitants are called Θορίεῖς (though to be carefully distinguished from Θορεῖς), in the same way as those of the Κεραμεικός were called Κεραμεῖς.[3] This place was celebrated from the earliest times, and even called by Hecatæus[4] a πόλις, formerly one of the twelve Ionian towns. Here also, according to tradition, Cephalus lived with Procris, daughter of Minos.[5] The Cephalides, a noble family, lived in Attica, and worshipped the Cretan Apollo,[6] to whom that temple seems to have been dedicated, of which ruins remain to this day, indicating the architecture of a very distant age, and bearing also a remarkable resemblance to the remains of an ancient Delian temple.[7] It had seven columns in front, and fourteen on each side. These columns are about five diameters in height, the capital enclosed, only at the base and under the echinus there is a small strip left unfluted; the shaft is without any swelling. In the last years of the Peloponnesian war, Thoricus was still

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[1] Dodwell, i. 582.

[2] Strabo, Pliny, iv. 7.

[3] Ἐν τῇ Θορίων, Schol. Odyss. Λ. 320.

[4] Stephanus of Byzantium. Compare Schol. Soph. Œdip. Col. 1595.

[5] Pherecydes in the Schol. Odyss. on this passage, p. 122; Sturz. Antonin. Liberal. Metamorph. 41.

[6] Paus. i. 37, 4.

[7] See Le Roi, pt. i. pl. 15, fig. 2. The Unedited Antiquities of Attica, comprising the architectural remains of Eleusis, Sunium, and Thoricus, by the Society of the Dilettanti. Compare Dodwell, i. 533.

fortified,[1] but after that time it became very unimportant. To the present day parts of the town walls are remaining, about two and a half English miles in circumference, built of a brittle kind of marble found in the neighbourhood. It has projecting towers, and seems to have been built irregularly by design, but is not of Cyclopean construction. At the foot of the Acropolis is a theatre of considerable circumference. Thoricus was also comprehended in the circle of the Attic silver-mines, with many similar places of less note, as Aulon, Maroneia, and the above-mentioned Besa. There also occurs a monument of one Thrasyllus, which may serve to fix the locality.[2]

Laurion itself forms no demus; it is only a mountainous district, interspersed with foundry works, to which, perhaps, some other buildings were annexed.[3] It lay in that district where the maps at present place Metoki of Legrano.

On the southern promontory of Attica lies the important borough of Sunion, with two harbours, and a celebrated peripteral temple of Pallas,[4] part of which remains to this day, and, if we may conclude from the architecture, seems to have been built about the same time as the Parthenon (here, during the Panathenæan festival, was exhibited the spectacle of triremes engaging in sham sea-fight), and was pro-

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[1] Xenoph. Hell. Hist. i. 2, 2.

[2] Boeckh on the Laurian silver-mines, on this passage, p. 89.

[3] Ibid. p. 87.

[4] Le Roy, I. pl. xv. p. 27; Ionian Antiquities, ii. pl. xi.; Unedited Antiquities; Dodwell, i. 542.

bably also a sanctuary of Poseidon (Σουνιάρατος in Aristoph.) Sunion in particular was constantly crowded with newly registered citizens, as Potamus was of *compulsory* citizens; hence a comic writer says,—"To-day a slave, to-morrow a Sunian, and the day after a speaker at popular assemblies."[1] Sunion was also fortified after the first year of the ninety-first Olympiad.[2] The distance from the confines of Bœotia along the coast to Sunion was, according to Scylax, 650 stadia;[3] from Sunion to the Piræus, according to Strabo, 330 stadia, according to Pliny, 42 Roman miles.[4]

Following the same direction we meet first with AZENIA, then with ANAPHLYSTUS, a demus, with fortifications and a harbour,[5] now ANAPHISTO, with ruins of the ancient town. This is also comprehended in the district of the Laurian mines. It appears to have derived part of its population from the (formerly Ionian) town of TRŒZEN, which lies over against it,[6] and was a place of some note, since it seems to have been called a town.[7] From the same Trœzen, SPHETTUS, one of the ancient twelve towns, was peopled. Here the Pallantides reigned, who got the Paralia for their inheritance. They marched against Theseus

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[1] Anaxandridas in Athen. vi. 18. See 263 c.

[2] Thucyd. viii. 4.

[3] Scylax, p. 21, Huds. "The voyage round Attica is 1140 stadia." This is a very incorrect statement.

[4] Pliny. iv. 7. A Piræo xlii. m. p. Sunium promon. Doriscum promon. Potamos. This Doriscum, which is totally unknown, must certainly be a slip of the pen. I am inclined to write Thoricium.

[5] Scylax, Περίπλ. on this passage.

[6] Paus. ii. 20, 8.

[7] Harpocr. Suidas.

along the SPHETTIAN road to Athens.[1] On this road, therefore, which runs from the Paralia to the city, GARGETTUS must have been situated.[2]

From Thoricus to Anaphlystus is sixty stadia;[3] between these two places lay the above-mentioned BESA.[4] If, then, it be certain (and it is certain) that Anaphlystus was not above eighty stadia from Sunion, then Strabo must have erred in placing the sanctuary of Aphrodite Colias near PANEION, in the neighbourhood of Anaphlystus.[5]

Paneion was a deep and large stalactite grotto near Vary, in this district, which has been rediscovered by Chandler, and from the several inscriptions he pronounces it to be a sanctuary of Pan and the nymphs[6] (inscriptions of a Nympholeptus).

Pausanias, however, places the promontory of COLIAS, and temple of the goddess of the same name, much more to the north—twenty stadia from the harbour of Phalerum.[7] With this all other testimony agrees. In that case the west wind only could have driven the shattered remains of the great Persian fleet against Colias.[8] In that case only could the hope have been conceived of capturing, after the short passage from Salamis, those women who were cele-

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[1] Plutarch, Theseus. 13. [2] Schol. Eurip. Hippolyt. 35.

[3] Xenophon on the Revenue, iv. 43. Compare Herod. iv. 99.

[4] Βησα, not Βησσα. Strabo, ix. 426. Compare, among others, the inscriptions on the monument of Philopappus at Athens.

[5] ix. 398.

[6] Hobhouse's Albania, 401; Dodwell, i. 550.

[7] Paus. i. 1. 4. [8] Herodotus, viii. 96.

brating a feast on the promontory,[1] &c. &c. Besides the worship of Aphrodite Colias and the Genetyllides in this place, there was also a temple of Demeter (a νεὼς περίπτερος[2]), near which a festival with sportive dances was celebrated by women.

To the north of Anaphlystus we find, first, ÆGILIA,[3] or ÆGILOS, next LAMPRA. This is certainly NETHER LAMPRA, by the sea, as UPPER LAMPRA (according to Stuart, Lamprica) lay farther inland. Next we find THORÆ (inhabitants Θορεῖς), near the promontory of Astypalæa; next ANAGYRUS, no doubt the modern Agyra.[4]

In this same neighbourhood the wide projecting cape of ZOSTER (Halices), which, together with Astypalæa (according to the maps of Sir William Gell), forms a kind of circular bay. Here were also the temples of Athena and the three Delian divinities.[5] Bordering upon this are the demi HALÆ ÆXONIDES, and even ÆXONE, both near the sea; the first, as the

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[1] Plutarch, Solon. 8; Polyæn. Strat. 1. See, concerning this contested question, Fourmont, Hist. de l'Ac. des Inscr. t. vii. p. 350; Larcher on Herodotus, viii. 30.

[2] Hesychius.

[3] Strabo, 398, with Tzschucke's annotations, must be referred to for this and following names.

[4] Besides Meursius de Popul. Att. compare Philochorus by Siebelis, p. 62, No. 94.

[5] Paus. i. 31, 1; Stephanus of Byzantium: Ἔνθα θύουσιν ἁλιεῖς Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ζωστηρίῳ. I should conjecture Ἁλαιεῖς, unless, perhaps, the inhabitants were called Ἁλαὶ, from Ἁλιεῖς. See Tzschucke on Strabo, 398. The modern name for the promontory of Zoster, Ἁλικιές, is certainly derived from the circumstance that it lay ἐν Ἁλικῇ, in the district of Halæ.

name indicates, in a swampy country, not very far from Phalerum;[1] of the last, probably, considerable ruins remain.[2] Lastly, we have HALIMUS, with a sanctuary of Demeter and of Cora Thesmophorus.[3]

The harbours of Athens, which come next in the order of places along the coast, will be more particularly described, as they abound in matter for topographical investigation. In this place Stuart's map (vol. iii. part 2) must form our basis.

MUNYCHIA is, properly speaking, a wide projecting peninsula, indented with many bays, which has on its north side the haven of *Piræus*, on the south those of *Munychia* and *Phalerum*.

THE PIRÆUS contained three havens formed by nature, but strengthened by art (λιμένας κλειστούς). The tolls of this haven were much injured by a smuggling port near it (φώρων λιμήν), at present called Κλεφθω-λιμανη.[4]

Near PHALERUM the sea approaches the city of Athens within twenty stadia;[5] but the Phalerian wall, which joined the harbour to the city, was thirty-five stadia in length. Munychia (anciently founded by the Minii[6]) formed together with Piræus one town, from the time that Hippodamus, the great civil architect (about the third year of the eighty-third Olympiad[7]), laid out the Athenian harbour-towns according to a

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[1] Xenophon. Hellen. ii. 4, 30; Stephanus of Byzan. Ἁλαί.
[2] Dodwell, i. 556.
[3] Paus. i. 31, 1.
[4] Dodwell, 587.
[5] Paus. i. 1, 2, 8, 10, 3.
[6] Orchomenus, 391.
[7] Photius, Hesychius, Ἱπποδάμου νέμησις.

new plan, in parallel lines and open squares, so as to command an extensive view of the sea.[1]

Here was the market of Hippodamus, with another near the sea; the great corn-magazine of Pericles (ἀλφιτοπῶλις); the bazaar (Δεῖγμα); the arsenal of Philon, and quays for 400 triremes; the temple of the Munychian Artemis (an asylum for unfortunate trierarchs); a great theatre, which sometimes was said to belong to Munychia, sometimes to the Piræus, though properly it belonged to the last-mentioned demus. Here were also temples, colonnades, public buildings, baths, and all things necessary for the navy,—in fine, every thing which the interests of Athens and the conflux of so many merchants and strangers required.[2]

The fortifications of this harbour-town were truly colossal: walls of forty Grecian ells high, and of such breadth that two carriages could easily pass each other on the top. These walls were built of huge square stones, fastened together by means of iron clamps;[3] and although Lysander caused parts of these walls to be pulled down (nor in the transactions which immediately followed do the Piræus[4] and Munychia appear to have been fortified), yet the fortifications of the Piræus, even though subsequently repaired and

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[1] Aristotle, Polit. ii. 5, 1; Strabo, ix. 395.

[2] The most information on this point is found collected in Meursii Piræus. Compare Barbié du Bocage, Plan des Environs d'Athènes, in the Anacharsis, No. 4.

[3] Thucyd. i. 93; Appian. Mithrid. 30.

[4] Xenoph. Hellen. ii. 3, 11; iv. 10, 11, 52.

restored by Conon, must be considered as the ancient work of Pericles.[1]

The circumference of this harbour-town was sixty stadia, of which, however, thirty lay without the walls, and required a separate work of defence, the other thirty being sufficiently covered by the walls which connected the haven to the town.[2]

Since even the more accurate of modern writers have erred in so many instances concerning these walls,[3] I may be allowed to try whether more certain positions may not be established, without going into tedious and far-fetched detail of evidence.

The ancient writers are very particular in distinguishing the short wall running to PHALERUM (τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος) from those two walls (both of them forty stadia in length) by which the city was connected with the Piræus. These last are merely termed the legs (τὰ σκέλη); but when spoken of collectively they are termed THE LONG WALLS.[4] Of these two walls one is the northern, τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος (called by Thucydides τὸ ἔξωθεν), the other the southern, τὸ νότιον; this last, however, because it lies between the northern and the later-built Phalerian wall, was called τὸ διὰ

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[1] Xenoph. iv. 8, 9. Appian on this passage. Demetrius Poliorcetes also destroyed part of it. Philochorus in Dionys. p. 79, by Siebelis. Compare Diodor. xx. 45.

[2] Thucyd. ii. 13. Hence Meursius very incorrectly calculates the fortifications of Athens to be 178 stadia in circumference, although in truth it only measures 148.

[3] See Potter's Antiquities of Greece, vol. i. p. 38, who has fallen into the same error.—*Translator's note.*

[4] Thucyd. ii. 13. Compare i. 107.

μέσου;[1] so that the southern and middle walls are one and the same, only differently named in relation to the two others. These statements are fully confirmed by the accounts we have of the several successive fortifications.

Themistocles had begun to enclose the Piræus with a wall before the Persian war (about the seventy-fourth Olympiad), and again directed thither the general attention as soon as Athens itself had been in some way rebuilt, and put into a better condition of defence.[2] When the walls of the Piræus were thought sufficiently high, the building of the long walls was commenced, of which Cimon laid the foundations with particular care, causing all the swampy ground to be filled up with stones from the quarries.[3] The north and Phalerian walls were certainly first finished about the fourth year of the eightieth Olympiad.[4]

The building of the middle wall, called either τείχους τοῦ μακροῦ τοῦ νοτίου, or τοῦ διὰ μέσου, was first proposed by Pericles, after Socrates had been made a citizen (after the first year of the eighty-second Olympiad[5]), and it must have been Callicrates who under-

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[1] Harpocr. διὰ μίσου. Nevertheless, Hawkins in particular has more recently affirmed that there were only two walls. Walpole on the Long Walls of Athens, i. 522.

[2] Thucyd. i. 93, Schol.

[3] Thucyd. i. 107; Plutarch, Cimon, 13.

[4] Andocides on the Lacedemonian Peace, 91, 4, 93, 22, and his transcriber Æschines, περὶ παραπρεσβ. 51, 23. Thucydides, i. 108, does not go enough into detail.

[5] Plato, Gorgias, 455; Andocides on this passage.

took the building of it,[1] the same who is known to us as the architect of the Parthenon.

The boroughs of Piræus and Phalerum, together with two others, Xypete and Thymœtedæ, were comprehended under the general name of Τετράκωμοι.[2] Of these it is said XYPETE was anciently called Troja, the native place of old Teucer.[3] THYMŒTEDÆ was situated near the sea, at some distance from the highroad.[4]

The demus ECHELIDÆ has been already mentioned. It lay between the Piræus and a temple of Hercules, belonging to the FOUR TOWNS (τετράκωμον Ἡρακλεῖον), though otherwise little known.[5]

Farther along the coast of the Gulf of Salamis lies CORYDALLUS, near a mountain of the same name. THRIA lay a little more inland, and SCAMBONIDÆ on the confines on the Eleusinian territory.[6]

Lastly, not far from the sea-shore, ELEUSIS, now Lefsina. The locality of this very ancient Pelasgian city is of the first importance towards comprehending the traditions and religious customs of Eleusis, though less so in a general topography of the country. Eleusis in earlier times was an independent city, but being subdued in a war with Athens, it afterwards formed one of the demi of Attica. The history of this city, however, is closely connected with the universal his-

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[1] Plutarch, Pericles, 13.

[2] Pollux, iv. 14; Strabo, 9.

[3] Phanodemus in Dionys. Halicar. i. 50; Strabo, xiii. 604; Stephanus of Byzan. Τροία.

[4] Plutarch, Theseus, 19.

[5] Stephanus of Byzan. Ἐχελίδαι.

[6] Paus. i. 38, 2.

tory of ancient Attica, since traces of CYCLOPEAN WALLS have been discovered near it, similar to those which are said to exist near Anagyrus, Phalerum, Munychia, and Rhamnus.[1] It was connected with Athens by the holy road which runs past Mount Ægaleus.[2] This road was decorated with monuments of different kinds, the inscriptions on which have been collected together by the industrious Polemon in a separate work. Among others was a temple of Apollo, of which, perhaps, the ruins, of Ionian architecture, found on the hill of Daphni-Vuna, are remains; traces of monuments erected to Phile, wife of Demetrius, and also of monuments to the courtesan Pythionice. Near these were found fragments of a temple consecrated to Aphrodite Phile, in the neighbourhood of the mountain Pœcilon.[3]

The μυστικὴ εἴσοδος led into Eleusis. The town lay round about the sanctuary, of which to this day there are considerable remains. It was built under Pericles by Ictinos, and formed a cella without any outward portico, but had two rows of double columns within. At the top was a round arched hole to let in the light; for this temple was not allowed to have any other external opening than was actually indispensable.

This great cathedral was capable of containing the

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[1] Petit-Radel Musée Napol. iv. p. 15, chiefly according to Choiseul-Gouffier. Among many other great mistakes, Petit-Radel calls the Pnyx a demus, according to Aristophanes!

[2] Istrus in the Schol. Soph. Œdip. Colon. 1059.

[3] Compare besides Paus. Dicæarch. in Athenæus, xiii. p. 594; Plutarch, Phocion. Diodor. xvii. 108; Dodwell, ii. 170.

largest assembly that ever met under one roof in Greece. According to modern writers it measured 260 feet in length, 150 feet in breadth; but in this measurement is included a vestibule with two rows of ten columns, built by Philon, under Demetrius.[1] It is enclosed by a circular wall, measuring 387 feet in length and 328 feet in span, of which there are still two sides standing. It is not, however, a level plot on which this building is erected; this immense temple rests upon the steep declivity of a rock, which has been hewn in such a manner as to form one of its walls. On this terrace, elevated from fifteen to twenty feet, a few steps lead up to a smaller temple *in antis*, which is in a good state of preservation, sixty-four feet long and fifty-four broad, probably built by Triptolemus. This terrace commanded a view of the whole surrounding country. Here also must have stood the castle of which Livy says,[2] "quod et imminet et circumdatum est templo," *i. e.* as explained in Crevier's note, "circumjectum est, ita ut castello templum includatur" (Liv. xxx. 25), "*it surrounded the temple, and towered above it.*" This is an instance of a castle attached even to a temple, to protect it against the depredations of robbers. There have also been found ruins of an Acropolis on the hill lying to the north.[3] No doubt that the very terrace-form of the sanctuary

[1] See Vitruv. vii. Præm.; Plutarch, Pericles, 13; Strabo, ix. 395; the plan of the district and of the temple by Foucherot, in Sainte-Croix's Mystères, published by Sylv. de Sacy.

[2] xxxi. 25. Compare Scylax Geogr. Min. part i. p. 20.

[3] Besides Chandler, and the Unedited Antiquities, see Dodwell, i. 584.

stood connected with the display of religious ceremonies, and the utmost advantage was taken of its locality. From indications more or less distinct we may infer the existence of a subterranean temple,[1] the entrance to which is reserved for the discovery of some future age. Traces also are supposed to have been discovered of a temple consecrated to Artemis. With Eleusis the periplus of Attica ends, which commenced at Oropus.

There now remains to point out the locality and peculiarities of the inland boroughs.

Every one who has attempted it is fully aware how much more difficult this is than to determine those along the coasts. The site, however, of the different places on the confines of Bœotia and Megaris is more easily determined from the remains of fortifications, raised as a shelter from an enemy, or a protection against incursions.

Œnoe, a fortified demus of the Phyle Hippothoontis, was situate near Eleusis and Eleutheræ, on the confines of Attica and Bœotia, a short distance from Megaris.[2] Here was a celebrated temple of the Pythian Apollo, whence Sophocles calls this district near Eleusis ἀκτὰς Πυθίας;[3] hence Œnoe is called

[1] The most distinct evidence is Himerios, Declam. xxii. Τὸ κάτω τέμενος. Giuseppe Bartoli, L'Antro Eleusinio, 1761.

[2] Among the passages which Barbié du Bocage has collected (Histoire de la Bourgade d'Œnoe la Sacrée), those of Diodor. iv. 60, Herod. v. 74, Thucyd. ii. 18, Strabo, viii. 375, Serv. Æneis, vi. 14, are particularly decisive.

[3] Œdip. Colon. 1102. The Scholiast confounds the Æantian and Hippothoontian Œnoe.

the holy.[1] When the Pythian sacred procession, after long-continued observations of the heavenly signs (*Πυθίαι ἀστραπαί*), had set out from Athens, a sacrificial ceremony was recommenced in the Pythian of Œnoe, and not until this had proved favourable could the procession advance along the holy road (*ἱερα ὁδός*[2]) onwards into Bœotia.

Œnoe and the neighbouring MELÆNÆ (near which, probably, ICARIA was situate[3]) were in the earliest times objects of contention between the Athenians and Bœotians. The former in the end obtained a signal victory, which secured them the possession of these demi, the neighbourhood of which was uncommonly fertile. In all their wars with the Peloponnesians and Bœotians, Œnoe seems to have been of the first importance to them. Its supposed ruins are seen to this day not far from Eleusis, in a hilly district on the west side of a waterfall (*Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν*).

More considerable ruins are found in the narrow pass which we have above marked by the name of Dryos-Cephalæ, commanding the chief road from Athens to Thebes. Its general name with the in-

[1] Not from the tomb of Androgeus, as Barbié imagines, who seems to have been quite out on this point.

[2] Philochorus, *περὶ Τετραπόλεως*. A passage in the Schol. Soph. (compare Valckenær on Ammonius, p. 93) should be written thus: *Ὅταν δὲ σημεῖα γένηται παραδιδομένα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, τότε ἀποστέλλουσι τὴν θεωρίαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους, Πυθιάδα καὶ Δηλιάδα, ὁποτέρα ἂν καθήκῃ αὐτοις· θύει δὲ ὁ μάντις, ὅταν μὲν τὰ εἰς Δελφοὺς πόμπιμα γένηται καὶ θεωρία πέμπηται, ἐν Οἰνόῃ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ, εἰ δε εἰς Δῆλον ἀποστέλλοιτο ἡ θεωρία, κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα θύει ὁ μάντις εἰς τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δήλιον, κ. τ. λ.* Compare Herod. vi. 34.

[3] Statius, Thebais, xii. 619, mentions both places together.

habitants is Gifto-Castro. Within lies a very ancient tower, fifty-seven feet long and thirty broad, built in the Cyclopean style, with polygonical stones; the outward fortifications are of later construction, and measure 330 roods in length, from 100 to 150 in breadth. These extensive fortifications are considered by Wheler to be those of Drynos; by Hobhouse, those of Œnoe; by Barbié du Bocage, after a more accurate comparison with the different accounts, to be those of Eleutheræ.[1] But here even the greatest doubts arise; for we must necessarily ask the question how it happened that Eleutheræ, if it had such considerable fortifications at such a very important point, is absolutely never mentioned in any account of the Grecian wars?

The French geographers evade the question by saying it is a "chef lieu d'une république sacrée;" but this assertion is in such extraordinarily bad taste as not to deserve a refutation. We might with much more reason consider Gifto-Castro to be the ancient Panacton. It is acknowledged that Panacton was situated in this district, on the confines of Attica and Bœotia, and that it was strongly fortified. After continued contests between the Athenians and Bœotians concerning boundaries, they came to a mutual agreement that neither of them should possess Panacton, but that they should in common have the use of that district.[2] How accurately this describes the situation of Gifto-Castro! Neither of the contending parties

[1] In like manner, Dodwell, i. p. 283.

[2] Thucyd. v. 42.

could command the pass by means of these fortifications without being exposed to the devastating incursions of the other. Though Panacton was destroyed in the twelfth year of the Peloponnesian war, we find mention made of it much later as a very considerable fortress.[1] The antiquity of the tower of Cyclopean architecture proves also much in favour of its being Panacton; for, according to tradition, the Pelasgians, who were driven from Thebes, had in very early times contended with the Æolian-Bœotians for the possession of this same Panacton. This account, when considered in all its bearings, is of great weight towards the decision of the question.[2]

Eleutheræ, on the contrary, which had been of uncertain tenure, passed over from the Bœotian alliance to that of Athens; from which period, though not forming one of the demi of Athens, it was nevertheless closely connected with her, having a similar constitution, and sharing in her religious ceremonies and civil rights. This town was certainly situated in nearly the same district on the road from Athens to Thebes, though not in the above-mentioned pass, but built down in the plain rather more to the west, on the confines of the Platæans,[3] about the same place where the modern maps place Condura.

From this place, in the earliest times (most probably during the Bœotian war, under Melanthus),

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[1] Demosth. *περὶ παραπρ.* 446, 2; Paus. i. 26, 5.

[2] Photius Bibl. p. 990, out of Proclus.

[3] Schol. Hesiod. Theog. 54; Strabo, viii. 375; Paus. i. 38; Xenoph. Hell. 5, 4, 14.

the worship of Dionysius Eleuthereus, together with his carved statue, was transferred to Athens, where the great Dionysia were solemnised in honour of him.[1] Eleutheræ, famous even in old mythi, continued meanwhile to exist as an inconsiderable town. Here, at the time of Pericles, Myron and his son Lycius (who are sometimes called Athenians, sometimes Bœotians) brought the art of casting metal to the highest degree of perfection.[2] In the time of Pausanias, Eleutheræ had fallen into total decay.[3]

In the same district lay Drymos, also a fortified place, on the confines of Bœotia.[4] To this also belongs Phyle, which has been recognised in *Biglaturri* (by Wheler falsely called Biala-Castro), a castle on the heights of Cassa, which join the Parnes about ten or twelve miles from Athens (about five German stunde). The ancients reckoned from 100 to 120 stadia from Athens, and placed Phyle on the Bœotian side, near the Parnes, on one of the roads from Athens to Thebes.[5] Situated as it was on a steep rock, with a rapid mountain-stream running on both sides, and otherwise strongly fortified, made it easy of defence. It was also from this place that Thrasybulus regained Athens her freedom.

Ancient writers also mention a Nymphæon near

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[1] Besides Barbié du Bocage on this, see Boeckh on the difference of the Lenææ, &c. in the last Treatises of the Berlin Academy.

[2] Compare Thiersch, Epochs of the Art of Modelling, ii. Remarks, p. 64.

[3] Paus. i. 38.

[4] Demosth. περὶ παραπρ. 345; Harpocr. Suidas, Hesych.

[5] Barbié du Bocage, p. 161. Compare Hobhouse, i. p. 287.

Phyle,[1] which Dodwell has discovered in a stalactitic grotto about seven miles (three stunde) north-east of Phyle.

In the neighbourhood of Phyle, but on the confines of the territory of Tanagra in Bœotia, not far from Asaphis, near Oropos, on one of the heights of the Parnes, a conspicuous object on all sides, lay HARMA,[2] not a demus. Here the priests towards the beginning of spring were accustomed to make their nightly observations on the flashes of lightning (ἀστραπαὶ Πυθίαι), previous to the departure of the holy mission to Delphi. These observations were made from the altar of Zeus Astrapæus,[3] in the town. Whether EPACRIA ought to be placed in this district, and if so in what particular spot, cannot be determined. Strabo calls one of the old Ionian twelve towns by that name, and in the Etymologicon three ἐπακρίδες are mentioned, in a territory called Epacria. One of these (according to Phylochorus in Stephanus) was SEMACHIDÆ.

Let us now leave the boroughs on the northern boundaries, and turn more to the south, towards Athens.

About five miles from the foot of the Parnes (two German stunde), and two and a half from the village of Castro, where at present the church of Ἅγιοι σαράντα stands, we may place, with Dodwell, ACHARNÆ. From the sturdy inhabitants of this populous district were mustered during the Peloponnesian war 3000 heavy-

[1] Menandrus in Harpocr. Φυλή; Dodwell, i. 505.

[2] Strabo, ix. 404; Steph. Byz. Ἅρμα; Eustath. Il. ii. 499.

[3] Eurip. Ion, 297.

armed men.[1] Here were also temples of Hercules, Athena, Dionysius, and particularly of Apollo.[2] Such a place was any thing but a miserable village of charcoal-burners, whose only riches, as many have asserted, consisted in their asses.

Acharnæ was sixty stadia from Athens, towards the interior of the country, from the mountain Ægaleus, and could be seen from the city.[3] Even at the present day blocks of marble, sarcophagi, &c., remain as traces of this once important district.[4] If we might also place *Lipsydrium*, a castle fortified by the Alcmæonidæ in the war against Pisistratus, on the slopes of the Parnes, then the demus *Pæonia*,[5] or *Pæonidæ*, which lay beneath it, would come within those environs of Castro, where Stuart places it, and answer to the modern name of Menido.

Decelia (perhaps Corocleidia) must likewise be placed in this neighbourhood, 120 stadia from Athens. It was so situated that from the Thriasian plains on one side, and Cecropean plains on the other, it was constantly exposed to the incursions of the Lacedemonians, by whom it was garrisoned in the Peloponnesian war. This place could also be seen from Athens.[6]

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[1] Thucyd. ii. 20. Compare Pindar. Nem. ii. 16.

[2] Athen. vi. 234, 235, Paus. [3] Thucyd. ii. 19, 20.

[4] Dodwell, i. p. 552. Compare Hobhouse, i. p. 371.

[5] Herod. v. 62. Διψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης has unpardonably been corrected with Πάρνηθος, contrary to the MSS. Compare Ilgen on the Scholia, 24, Athen. xv. 695. Hesych. and Suidas have it, indeed, ὑπὲρ Παρνηθος, but this contradicts Herodotus. Παιονία is, moreover, the district of Pæonidæ. Compare Larcher on this passage.

[6] Thucyd. vii. 19.

Decelia, it is said, was so called after Decelus, who acted as guide to the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) in the war against Theseus for the conquest of Aphidna.[1] Hence we may with sufficient grounds conclude that APHIDNA, which was a fortified place from the earliest times to that of Demosthenes,[2] was situate in the same district, that is, on the slopes of the Parnes.[3] To this may also be joined the demus TITACIDÆ; for, according to tradition, *Titacus*, the earth-born, during the same expedition, betrayed Aphidna into the hands of the Dioscuri,[4] as also PHERRIDÆ, which is positively affirmed to be near Aphidna;[5] so that *Aphidna*, *Titacidæ*, and *Pherridæ*, must be in the immediate vicinity of each other, of which another proof will follow.

There is also mention made of an *Œon* near Decelia.[6] Between Decelia, however, and the Bœotian Tanagra, lay *Sphendalis*.[7] The situation of PALLENE is determined by this circumstance — that it lay about half way on the road between Athens and Marathon.

Here it was that Pisistratus beat the Athenians in battle, before they submitted to his sway for the third time.[8] Nor can Pallene have been far distant from Acharnæ.[9]

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[1] Herod. ix. 73, and others. [2] Demosth. De Corona, p. 238.

[3] On the Ruins of Ἀφιδνα, Sturz, Hellanicus, 90, p. 116.

[4] Herod. on this; Stephan. and Harpocr. Τιτακίδαι.

[5] Περρίδαις τῆς Ἀττικῆς δῆμος ἐν Ἀφίδναις.—Hesych.

[6] Philochorus in Harpocr. Probably the Οἰᾶτις in Soph. Œdip. Col. 1060. [7] Herod. ix. 15.

[8] Herod. i. 62, with Valckenaer's annotations. Very different accounts of this battle are given in Andocides, περὶ μυστηρίων, p. 19, 11. Compare Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 234.

[9] Aristoph. Acharn. 234. Compare Androtium by Siebelis, p. 118.

Pallene, it would appear, took its name from the Pallentides, an ancient race of heroes in Attica.[1] Here was also a chief temple of Athena (Παλλήνιον), rich with offerings and curiosities, all of which have been specified by Themison in the Παλληνίς. The ceremonies were performed by a priestess, assisted by *parasites*.[2]

In the accounts of the locality of Pallene it is stated to be near the sources of the Cephissus, where also TRINEMEIS was situated. Between these sources and the Pentelicus, the modern name of *Cevrishia*, one of the most beautiful of the Attic towns, determines the site of the ancient demus CEPHISSIA.

In this demus was the villa of Herodus Atticus, with shady plantations and a copious supply of water.[3] This is the same Herodes to whom, under Adrian, the city of Athens owed the revival of much of its former splendour.

Cephissia was bounded towards the south by the demus of the HEPHÆSTIADES, a name which is certainly derived from the skilful workmanship of its ancient inhabitants. There was also a temple of Hephæstus as well as of Hercules.[4]

If, further, the resemblance of the name PELICA with PELACES, which is not much more to the south than Cephissia, be admitted as satisfactory proof,

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[1] This we may conclude from Plutarch, Theseus, 13.

[2] Athenæus, vi. 234, 235; Herodotus on this.

This word is used in its primitive sense, meaning simply *guests*. "Qui una cum sacerdotibus partem victimæ in cibum capiebant."—*Translator's note.*

[3] Philostrat. v. Soph. ii. Gellius N. A. 18, 10. Compare 1, 2.

[4] Diogenes Laert. iii.; Plato, iii. p. 79 d.

then the situation of EUPYRIDÆ and CECROPIDÆ are determined, since these three demi were comprehended under the common name of Τρίκωμοι. It is, moreover, certain that the Cecropean plain reached to this place. In like manner, the name of MARUSIA in this district reminds us of ARTEMIS AMARYSIA, whom the inhabitants of Athmonon (like the Eretrians in Eubœa) worshipped as the chief deity.[1] Lastly, ERISEDÆ,[2] also most probably one of the places near the Cephissus.

In following the course of this river we have to specify the site of the demi, on the inland side, in the neighbourhood of the city itself, those along the coast having been already treated of above.

CŒLE, in front of the Melittean gate, with the family sepulchres of Miltiades, Cimon, and Thucydides.[3]

At a ford on the farther side of the Ilissus, a little above the town, lay AGRA, where was the temple of Demeter, in which the ceremonies of the minor Eleusinia were performed. Here was also a sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera.[4]

The OUTER CERAMICUS lay to the north-west, six stadia from the Dipylon,[5] the most beautiful gate of Athens, and connected to the city by a broad high-road. Here was the Gymnasium of the Academy,

[1] Paus. i. 31; Hesych. Ἀμαρύσια.

[2] See the Platonian Testament, in Diog. Laert. on this.

[3] Marcelin, Life of Thucydides.

[4] Plato, Phædr. p. 7, Bekker; Paus. Steph. The small Ionian temple on the south side of the Ilissus, now Παναγία εἰς τὴν πέτραν, is neither that of Agea nor the sanctuary of Panops.

[5] Cicero de Finibus, v. 1; Livius, xxxi. 24, mille fere passus.

from which all that portion of the suburbs derived its name. The temple and sanctuaries of Athena, with their olive-groves,—the temples also of Prometheus, of Dionysius Eleuthereus,—the sepulchres of the fallen warriors, with their appropriate funeral games, together with the processions and torch-races that took place there, made the outward Ceramicus the most delightful suburban portion of Athens.

This neighbourhood was once a mere desolate waste, until Cimon, by means of aqueducts, turned the dry level into a beautiful garden.[1] From this it is at the same time evident that the Academy cannot properly be placed on the Cephissus.

Colonos Hippius cannot have been far from the Academy,[2] being about ten stadia from the city.[3] Perhaps at first it contained nothing more than a sanctuary of the Hippian deities, Athena and Poseidon, to whom may also be added Prometheus, and the σεμναὶ θεαί[4] (story of Œdipus).

This being also a place of resort for mule-drivers (ὠρεοκόμοι), it was most likely a regular station where travellers made arrangements for journeys overland.[5]

Cynosarges, a demus, formed also part of the suburbs, with a gymnasium on the east side of the

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[1] Suidas, τὸ Ἱππάρχου τειχίον; Plutarch, Cimon, 13; also Meursius, Ceramicus Geminus.

[2] See Meursius de Pag. Att. s. v. Colonus.

[3] Thucyd. viii. 67.

[4] See Soph. Œdip. Colon. 52, with the Schol. The χαλκόπους ὁδὸς seems to have been an ancient building of peculiar construction.

[5] Schol. Soph. 718; Harpocr. Κολωνίτης.

city, not far from the Ilissus.[1] There was also a *sacred field* and a temple of Hercules, which had both priests and parasites, chosen from among the illegitimate sons of the Athenians, who with their descendants formed a considerable part of the population of Cynosarges,[2] at least to the time of Alcibiades.

According to Herodotus, the demus ALOPECE, the birthplace of Socrates, was near the Heracleum in Cynosarges, and, according to Æschines, it was from eleven to twelve stadia from the city-walls. The modern Lopece is too far distant to be identified with it.[3]

AGRAULE, on the upper side of the Panathanean stadium, on the Ilissus, is perhaps the modern CARALA.[4]

CEPOI, which some consider as lying near Athens, perhaps the modern AMPELOCIPO, was a sacred enclosure of Aphrodite in the city itself.[5]

SCIRON, on the road to Eleusis, is carefully to be distinguished from the temple of *Athena Sciras* in Phalerum. In the first-mentioned the Scirophorian, in the last Oschophorian festivals were celebrated.

A little farther, but on the same side of the Cephissus, we find the demus LACIDÆ, or LACIADÆ, the birthplace of Miltiades and Cimon.[6]

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[1] Paus. Compare Axiochus, 364 a.

[2] See, besides other passages, the decree of Alcibiades in Athen. vi. 234 e. Compare Meier Historia Juris Attici de Bonis Damnatorum, p. 75, who, nevertheless, in this does not choose to give *νόθους* its proper meaning.

[3] Herod. v. 63. Ἀλωπεκῆσι ἀγγοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακληΐου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. Compare Valckenaer. Æschines against Timarch. p. 14, 11.

[4] Harpocr. [5] Paus. i. 27. [6] Paus. i. 37, 1.

Ceiriadæ must also have lain near to Athens, since the Barathron (the Athenian Ceadas[1]), which cannot have been far from the city, was in Ceiriadæ.[2]

There was also a village Ceopia on the north-west end of the Hymettus, according to an old inscription of the demus of that same name.

To close this enumeration of the Attic boroughs, we have also to refer to the remarkable walls which Dodwell has discovered near the Hymettus, half an English mile from the monastery of Syriani, and which he has, with correct judgment, referred to the settlement of the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi on that mountain.[3]

Though, strictly speaking, it is not altogether of a geographical nature, I cannot dismiss this subject without making an attempt to answer the query, Whether there existed demi in the city of Athens itself? To solve this question, it will be necessary to go farther back into the history of the Attic demi.

Δῆμοι, that is, townships or boroughs, with distinct jurisdictions, and separated from each other by boundary stones,[4] certainly existed in Attica from the earliest times. These (as Thucydides mentions) had their own local authorities, of which, however, the state thought very little, since, agreeably to the aristocratic form of the olden constitution, the divisions into

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[1] *i.e.* serving the same purpose at Athens, for throwing in criminals, as the place called Ceadas at Sparta.—*Translator's note.*

[2] Anecdot. Bekkeri Lex. Rhet. 219, 8; Valckenaer on Herod. 7, 133; Meur. de Pœnis Damn. p. 19.

[3] Dodwell, i. p. 483.

[4] Strabo, i. "Here is Collytus and here Melite."

phratriæ and families had more weight than the mere circumstance of their living together in the demi. These demi, however, had their own sacred rites, and, as so many communities, they stood more or less in connexion with each other. For instance, the inhabitants of Melite celebrated the Metageitnia[1] in the neighbouring Diomea (perhaps at a great feast of Hercules); but, on the other hand, all intermarriage between the Hagnusians and the Pallenians was forbidden.[2] These communities, however, were not at that time strictly and entirely separated from each other; otherwise we should not meet with Miltiades the Philæan registered among the Laciadæ, and with Epicurus (who was of the same tribe) in the district of Gargettos, since there was also a demus called Philaidæ. Moreover, Socrates must have been, from his demus and tribe, a Dædalide, and not of Alopece, and so in other instances. But Cleisthenes, when he, in order to elevate the democratic party, had distributed the people according to a geographical system, these demi must have become of much greater importance. From that time they formed a real part of the state. Every citizen was at the same time a member of some demus, and was entered into its register. We do not find that any one could go over from one demus to another (Miltiades, Cimon, Thessalus, Laciadæ). It

[1] Plutarch on Exile. Their vicinity I infer from this, that Diomus was also called a son of Collytus, and that Melite lies close to Collytus. All three had the worship of Hercules in common.

[2] Plutarch, Theseus, 13.

was, indeed, requisite for a man to dwell in the demus he belonged to, nor could he acquire landed property in any other. Cleisthenes, indeed, when he regulated the demi, cannot have followed any other rule or principle than the settlement and permanent abode of each citizen in his particular demus.

Now that the city itself did not form or contain a demus, we might certainly conclude from the striking facts that it was only composed by the junction of several demi, and from the circumstance that the Athenians mostly lived in the country; nevertheless, we do find demi mentioned in the city; for instance, the CYDATHENÆON,[1] also LENÆON, in the Limnæ district of the city, which, though it was only a large peribolus, with two temples of Dionysus, is mentioned as a demus.[2] In such cases we may assume that those places, at the time of Cleisthenes, did not form integral parts of the city, but were open places, or formed part of the suburbs, containing arable land; although it certainly appears that Lenæon, situated on the south side of the citadel, seems to have belonged to the more ancient portions of the city. The case is quite otherwise with respect to Collytus,[3] Melite,[4] Colonos,[5] Eupervdæ,[6] and Marathon,[7] which at the same time

[1] Hesych. δῆμος ἐν ἄστει. On the other hand, the common expression, δῆμος Ἀθηνήσι means nothing more than ἐν Ἀττικῇ.

[2] Steph. Byz. Λήναιος. Compare Boeckh on the difference between the festivals Lenæa, Anthesteria, and Minor Dionysia.

[3] Himerius, Eclog. Meurs. s. v.

[4] Siebelis, Index to Philochor. p. 125.

[5] Siebelis, Philochor. p. 55; Androtion, 115.

[6] Hesych. εὐπυρίδαι.

[7] Suidas, Μαραθῶν.

formed demi and districts of the city. From this it is evident that the inhabitants of a demus, when they were incorporated and lived in the city, brought with them the country-names, and gave them to their streets and districts.

There now remains to speak of the demi as subdivisions of the PHYLÆ, since, if it were but possible to determine their situation, it would form a basis for the topography of Attica.

Cleisthenes divided both the people and country into ten phylæ, into which were distributed the demi, at that time about 100 in number. These demi increased greatly in number down to the time of the Orators; and subsequently from a part of the demi two more phylæ were formed, called ANTIGONIS and DEMETRIAS, afterwards PTOLEMAIS and ATTALIS. Some of the boroughs were taken in from the old districts; to these new ones were added, and in that way a new circle was formed. In like manner, at a later period, a phyle ADRIANIS was formed, mostly from the small islands around Attica.

Since the phylæ of Cleisthenes were chorographically arranged (in the same way as in other Grecian states, *e. g.* at Elis,[1] at Ephesus,[2] and the Laconian Periœci[3]), the demi of a phyle must have lain together, as the boroughs of a certain circle. This, indeed, we find often to be the case; for instance, Marathon, Œnoe, Trycorythus, Rhamnus, Psaphidæ, and Phegæa,

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[1] Paus. v. 9.
[2] Steph. Βίννα.
[3] Orchomenus, p. 314.

all lie close together. Not far from these again we find clustered together, Aphidna, Perrhidæ, and Titacidæ.

These are the several boroughs of the tribe ÆANTIS, comprehended in a circle formed by the confines of Bœotia and the ridge of Parnes, extending to the Marathonian plain. In the same way Mirrhinus, Prasiæ, and Steiria, lay together, which all belong to the phyle PANDIONIS, and in many other cases the same occurs. It seems, however, that numerous exceptions to the original rule crept in at the formation of new boroughs and the separation of old ones (probably for the purpose of preserving a certain equilibrium), whereby the simple arrangement was neglected and forgotten.

Many of the demi were ascribed to two or three different phylæ, and this cannot have been from mere oversight; for instance, Phaleron was ascribed to the tribes ÆGEIS and ÆANTIS; Phegæ, to the ÆGEIS, ÆANTIS, ADRIANIS, and the like. And thus it is that we find Sunion belonging to the same phyle as Scambonidæ, near Eleusis, namely, to the LEONTIS; Eleusis and Arzenia, near Sunion, to the HIPPOTHOONTIS; and many others in a similar manner. In this way it would be impossible to separate the localities of the Attic circles chorographically. The reader, consequently, can here expect nothing more than an enumeration of the several demi contained in the different phylæ, according to Meursius, Spon, Corsini, and others.[1]

[1] Lastly, we have to mention the best maps of Attica. There are, besides Wheler's Achaia Vetus ac Nova, one by Stuart, t. iii.; that of Kilchin, in Chandler's Travels, especially also the Carta della Grecia

Cecropis.—Athmonon, Æxone, Halæ, Æxonides, Dædalidæ, Epinicidæ, Zypete (Melite), Pithos,[1] Sypalettos, Trinemeis, Phlya.

Ægeis.—Halæ Araphenides, Araphen, Bate, Gargettos, Diomeia, Erechthia, Ericeia, Ercheia, Icaria, Ionidæ, Collytus, Cydantidæ, Plotheia, Titheas (Phegæa), Philaidæ, Chollidæ.

Œneis.—Acharnæ, Buteia, Epicephisia, Thria, Hippotamadæ, Laciadæ, Lusia, Melete, Oe,[2] Perithœdæ, Ptelea, Tyrmidæ (Philaidæ), Phyle.

Erechtheis.—Agraule, Anagyrus, Euonymus, Themacus, Cedæ, Cephisia, Upper and Nether Lampra, Pambotadæ, Pergase, Sybridæ, Phegus.

Hippothoontis.—Azenia, Amaxanteia, Anacæa, Acherdus, Deceleia, Elæeus, Eleusis, Erœadæ, Thymœtadæ, Ceiriadæ, Cœte, Corydallus, Peiræeus, Sphendale, Œnoe Hippothoontis, Œon Deceleicon.

Leontis.—Æthalidæ, Halimus (Aphidna), Hecale, Eupyridæ, Cettoi, Deirades, Cecropidæ (most likely), Cropia, Luconœon (Marathon), Œon, Cerameicon, Pæonidæ, Pelecas, Potamus, Scambonidæ, Sunion, Hyba, Phrearrhoi.

Æantis.—Aphidna,[3] Marathon, Œnoe Æantis, Phegæa (Phaleron), Rhamnus, Perrhidæ, Thyrgonidæ, Titacidæ, Tricorythus, Psaphidæ.

Antica, secondo le Osservazioni di Sir William Gell; though here even, in fixing the boundaries of the ancient demi, great error has been committed.

[1] Schreibert Ruhnken on Timæus, Lex. p. 1.

[2] Compare Hemstr. on Schol. Aristoph. Plutus, p. 352.

[3] The Æantis by Plutarch, Sympos. 1, 10; Nicander in Harpocr. Θυργωνίδαι; the Leontis, Stephanus.

Pandionis.—Angele, Cydathenæon, Conthyle, Cytheron, Myrrhinus, Oa, Pæania, Prasiæ, Probalinthus, Steiria, Phegæa-Pandion.

Acamantis.—Hagnus, Eirisidæ, Hermus, Hephæstiadæ, Thoricus, Itea, Ceramicus, Cephale, Cyrtiadæ, Cicynna, Porus, Prospalta, Sphettus, Cholargus.

Antiochis.—Ægilia, Alopece, Amphitrope, Anaphlystus, Atene, Besa, Thoræ (Itea), Crioa, Leccon, Leucopyra, Melænæ, Pallene, Pentele (Perrhidæ, Titacidæ), Semachidæ, Phaleron.

Demetrias.—(Hagnus.)

Attalis.—Apollonieis (Atene, Sunion, Hagnus, Agraule).

Ptolemais.—Berenicidæ, Thyrgonidæ (Aphidna, Perrhidæ, Titacidæ, Conthyle, Cydantidæ, Phlya, Themacus).

Hadrianis.—Helene, Eleusa (Phegæa, Oa).

Unknown Phylæ.—Ægialus, Ægicoreis, Agræ (probably not a demus), Aulis, Argilia (probably erroneous), Bœotius demus (doubtful), Brauron, Enna (doubtful), Drymus (no demus), Echelidæ, Thebe (doubtful), Cale, Cothocidæ, Colonos Hippios, Cynosarges, Larissa (doubtful), Lenæum, Panacton (no demus), Sporgilus, Hysiæ (this belonged only for a short time to Attica), Phormisioi, Phrittioi (doubtful), Chitone.

Some corrupted names found in Suidas and Hesychius have been omitted.

Islands.—Salamis, now called Coluri. Its largest

stream Bocaros. That this island originally belonged to the Athenians, Solon sought to prove, from the circumstance of the bodies of the buried being turned towards the west. After Salamis became Athenian, it formed a district of an Attic demus.[1] This island lay turned towards Attica. According to Strabo there was once an ancient town on its southern side.

Psyttalia (Lipsocattalia), situate in the narrow part of the gulf, celebrated for the battle of Salamis fought there.[2] Near to this are the lesser Atalante; and on the shores of Corydalus the two Pharmacusæ, now called Micra and Megala-Cira.

Phaura, now Phlĕga, opposite the promontory of Zoster.

Near the promontory of Astypalæa, Eleusa (where Stuart places Vouliasmeni). More to the north, Hydrussa. Near to Sunion the island of Patroclus, now Grithronisi. Opposite Thoricus the long rocky islands of Helene, also called Cranai. This is nothing more than a ridge of barren mountains, now called Macronisi.

Athens. — The topography of this metropolis of Attica, though, as regards the greatness of subject or general interest, it cannot be compared to Rome, yet deserves to be accurately exhibited; among others, for

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[1] Philostrat. Heroica Ajax Telem.

The words in Philostratus are, Ἡττίκιζέ τε ἄστε, οἶμαι, Σαλαμίνα οἰκῶν, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι δῆμον πεποίηνται.—*Translator's note.*

[2] Herodot. viii. 76, 93; Æschyl. Pers. 446, with Stanley's remarks.

this reason especially, that it will assist towards the interpretation of the Attic writers, while at the same time it is of great importance in the history of the arts. To this end it must be undertaken on much more solid foundations, and executed with more care and judgment, than has hitherto been bestowed on it. This can only be accomplished by comparing with the present locality, even in the most minute particulars, all the hints and notices of the classic authors who lived at Athens. How could those writers perform this task who had not even made a proper use of what Meursius has collected, and, instead of a consistent, well-combined system, have produced a mass of blind conjecture?

Among the ancients there existed a written account concerning the city of Athens by Menacles or Callistratus, from which Harpocration has borrowed some valuable hints.[1]

Heliodorus wrote upon the citadel and sepulchral monuments near Athens,[2] also upon the street of the tripods.

Polemon has collected the several inscriptions from the offerings in the Acropolis. The collections of Meursius are contained in the books entitled, *Athenæ Atticæ* (the plan in this is very bad), *Ceramicus*

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[1] s. v. Ἑκατόμπεδον, Κεραμεικός, Ἑρμαῖ.

[2] Περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως, in Harpocr. s. v. Θεσπαλός, Νίκη, Προπύλαια. Plutarch, V. X. Oratt. Hyperid. p. 271 H. Whether we are to correct, according to Ruhnken, Ἡλιόδωρος περὶ μνημάτων, by Λιόδωρος, is more than doubtful. However, there also existed a work so entitled by this topographer of Athens.

Geminus, *Cecropia S. de Arce*, *Lectiones Atticæ*, and *Areopagus*.

The first, and not altogether useless, perspective plan of modern Athens was drawn and published by Francesco Fanelli, about the year 1704, in a book called *Atene Attiche*, describing Athens as it was under the Venetian family Acciaioli. Fanelli (whose plan seems to have been drawn about the year 1687), as well as Wheler and Spon, in the year 1675, saw still much remaining, which was destroyed soon after and in the course of the following half century.

About the same time, but of still less value, was published Guillettiere's *Athènes*, *Ancienne et Nouvelle* (second edit. Paris, 1675), with a plan of ancient and modern Athens.

Chandler's description, with reference to antiquity, is made on better principles, though without much deeper research. Had he and his followers only noted down with more accuracy the spots where they found the several inscriptions, such combined observations would have opened the way to the discovery of many ancient localities.

Le Roy's *Monumens de la Grèce* is much inferior to Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*. The third volume of this work was also accompanied by a trigonometrical plan of modern Athens, taken about the year 1752. With this, Fauvel's accurate plan, in Olivier's *Voyage*, t. iii. pl. 49, perfectly agrees.

Wilkins's *Atheniensia, or Remarks on the Topography and Buildings of Athens* (London, 1816), is merely a repetition of Stuart's plan, without any im-

provements; and what he has added from his own inquiries generally fails to hit the right point.

Much preferable to this is HAWKINS's *Topography of Athens*, in WALPOLE's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 480. CLARKE and DODWELL's *Travels* are also deserving of particular notice.

Among those who did not visit Athens in person was BARTHELEMY, who has appended to his *Travels of Anacharsis* a plan of ancient Athens, designed by Barbié du Bocage, according to Foucherot's improvements. This plan has received from most people unmerited praise, for it fails throughout in the settling of the most important points.[1]

BREITENBAUCH's *Representation of the Theatre of Remarkable Occurrences* (Leipzig, 1794) is wholly useless. While he pretends to fill up and complete Barthelemy's plan, he, in fact, totally disfigures and spoils it. What has recently been promised by the Elgin artists, we will not here precipitately call to account; in the meantime, however, we are all expectation.

As it is not the object in this work merely to give a repetition of what our predecessors have said on this subject, a more STRICT AND METHODICAL COURSE of connected investigation must be pursued, from which either new or at least better results may be obtained, though we have no other particular source to assist us. To this end we will first try to secure a number of fixed points arising from the monuments of every kind which are still extant, before we presume to accompany

[1] Compare note 17 to cap. xii. t. ii. p. 563, of the stereotype edit.

Pausanias in his walks through the city. A survey of the open areas, streets, gates, and principal buildings, can only be accurately given after all this has been done.

To begin. The locality of the ACROPOLIS is undoubtedly determined, nor can that of the colossal PARTHENON be mistaken, nor the combined sanctuary of ATHENA POLIAS and ERECHTHEUS, nor the magnificent PROPYLÆA near the entrance, with the temple of NICE-APTEROS on one side, and a PICTURE-GALLERY on the other. This was, even from the earliest times, before the building of this columned vestibule, the easiest ascent to the Acropolis,[1] while the steepest was on the east or opposite side of this rocky hill.

Here must have stood, immediately on the slope of the hill, the temple of AGLAURUS,[2] from which the daughter of Cecrops is said to have thrown herself.

To the right of the Propylæa, on the north-west side of the citadel, is a spacious GROTTO and a SPRING, which, in conjunction with another, forms a small stream. This is the same grotto called formerly that of Cecrops, where also Erechtheus was swallowed up by the earth, where Ion was born of Creusa, and where Pan, the bold, accommodating ally of the Athenians, took up his abode after the battle of Marathon.[3] For, in accordance with this, Pausanias places it somewhat below the Propylæa, where he

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[1] Herodot. viii. 53.

[2] See Herodot. on this.

[3] Eurip. Ion, v. 11, 294, 505, 1415. Πάνος αὔλιον, Aristoph. Lysistr. 722, 910.

also speaks of the spring of water.[1] Lucian describes Pan as stepping out from the grotto to welcome Minerva, who had come down from the opposite hill of Mars (Areopagus[2]). Lastly, there has been found in the neighbourhood of the grotto an excellent marble statue of the god, to the neck of which a tropæum seems to have been fastened by iron clamps; thus the statue of the CONQUEROR at MARATHON.[3]

From the situation of Pan's grotto we shall be able to determine that of the PELASGICON, though not until we have formed some distincter notions concerning it. We cannot do better than give the passages from the writers themselves.

Herodotus, from Hecatæus,[4] says, "The Athenians allotted certain lands to the Pelasgians, as a recompense for the wall that was formerly built by them AROUND THE ACROPOLIS."

The PISISTRATIDÆ were besieged in the PELASGICON.[5] But when the Acropolis was besieged by the Persians, it had no other than a wooden wall, hastily erected in the exigence of the moment. According to an ancient tradition, it had also formerly been surrounded by a wooden palisade.[6]

Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Birds, mentions a PELASGICON as part of the citadel, and as being very strongly fortified.[7]

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[1] i. 28, 4. [2] Bis Accusat. 10.

[3] Clarke's Greek Marbles, p. 10, represented in Wilkins's Magna Græcia, p. 71.

[4] vi. 137. [5] v. 64. [6] vii. 142, viii. 52.

[7] Τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν, Birds, 832.

Thucydides:—"The so-termed Pelasgicon BELOW THE CITADEL, which was forbidden to be inhabited from a curse which was upon it." To this we may also add the following hemistich from a Pythian oracle:—"The Pelasgicon is much better not inhabited," though, as Thucydides adds, "in an emergency it was garrisoned."[1] It is also mentioned by others as forming part of the citadel.[2]

Euphorus[3] says:—"From the Pelasgians who fled to Athens part of the citadel was called the Pelasgicon."

Cleidemus[4] has:—"The Pelasgians made level the summit of the Acropolis, and built the PELASGIAN NINE GATES around it."

Whoever made use of any part of the land within the Pelasgicon was fined three drachmæ, according to a very ancient penal law.[5] This sufficiently proves in what little estimation it was held. Down to the time of Aristides, and also of Philostratus, the Pelasgicon remained undestroyed.[6]

From these apparently contradictory accounts we may conclude that the Pelasgicon certainly protected part of the citadel, but not the whole; that it may be considered as forming part of the citadel, but enclosing a distinct level place at the foot of it; that it was a

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[1] ii. 17.

[2] Compare Hesych. ii. p. 904, where it is called a τειχίον.

[3] Strabo, ix. 401.

[4] Siebelis, p. 44; Suidas, s. v. Ἀπεδα.

[5] Pollux, viii. 104.

[6] Panathenaicus of Aristides, i. p. 291. Comp. Libanius, Περισβευτικῶ, 207, 7. Reiske.

colossal building, though probably never finished. But the question now arises, ON WHICH SIDE OF THE CITADEL DID IT LIE?

When Lucian convokes a meeting of the philosophers in the citadel, they are not content with the usual approach, but clamber in swarms to it, some by the *Pelasgicon*, some by the temple of *Æsculapius*, more by the *Areopagus*, some by the tomb of *Talos*, and others even by the *Anaceum*.[1] We should particularly notice the climax in this description, where Lucian mentions the steepest place last.

But the complaints of PAN throw even more light on this point, when he says: that after all the services he had rendered to Athens, he was forced to take up his lodgings in a cave of the Acropolis, A LITTLE BELOW THE PELASGICON.[2]

Even yet might not traces be found of a wall, probably Cyclopean, on the NORTH-EAST SIDE OF THE ACROPOLIS, that part being first fortified, since it was least protected by nature?

Stuart, indeed, mentions traces of a wall in this quarter, but the accounts he has given are too vague to be relied on.[3]

From the Pelasgicon the excellent Polemon teaches us how to find another important point.[4] He mentions

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[1] Fischer, c. xlii.

Or temple of Castor and Pollux, who were called Ἀνάκτες. — *Translator's note.*

[2] Bis Accusat. c. ix. Compare the Scholia on both passages.

[3] Stuart's Antiquities, ii. viii.

[4] The Scholia on Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. 493.

a place called CYDONIUM,[1] on the outside of the Nine Gates (as Cleidemus also calls that part of the fortifications), and near to this CYDONION, the HEROON of HESYCHUS. This Hesychus was revered by the Hesychidæ as their progenitor. The Hesychidæ were an Attic family, who considered the worship of the Eumenides as a part of their inheritance. From this we may assume that the sanctuary of the VENERABLE GODDESSES, σεμναὶ θεαί, was not far distant from the Sacellum of Hesychus. But the temple of the Eumenides, since it was on the Areopagus,[2] the site of which is not to be mistaken, it serves to point out in what direction the above-mentioned Heroon must be sought for, and at the same time removes all doubt as to the locality of the Pelasgicon.

The AREOPAGUS, which was opposite the Propylæa, in a direction north of the citadel, will serve to determine many other points, firstly, that of the PNYX. "He who stands on the Areopagus can see over the Pnyx,"[3] which also stood on an eminence (ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο.[4])

Now there certainly have been found considerable traces of a *semicircular* building on a small rising ground to the west of the Areopagus, great part of

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[1] Meursius (Atticæ Lect. v. 32) very incorrectly alters it with Κιμώνιον, referring to the wall of Cimon, which stood in quite a different place.

[2] Lucian, Bis Accusat. iv. In Æschylus, Eumenid. 858, πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως is only to be understood in a general sense—in the city of Erechtheus. On the other hand (v. 920), τὰν Ἄρης φρούριον θεῶν νέμει, &c., refers to the Areopagus.

[3] Lucian, Bis Accusat. ix.

[4] Compare Schœmann de Comitiis, p. 54.

which has been hewn out of the rock itself. Only the front or circular part of this building, which was turned towards the city, rested upon a substruction of irregularly hewn blocks of stone. The back part, or rectilinear side of this building, was formed by the perpendicular side of the rock, which was hewn to an obtuse angle, where a SUGGESTUM was also formed out of the solid rock. This cannot have been the *Odeum*,[1] as many have assumed, since there are neither any traces of elevated seats for the spectators, nor of a wall against which the latter could have leant.

Pollux is speaking of the Pnyx when he says,[2] "an edifice opposite the Acropolis, built after the simple fashion of the ancients, not with the splendour of a theatre;" with which, however, according to the form of the building, it might certainly be compared.

The grammarians also allude to the above-mentioned substruction in the derivation of the word Πνὺξ, genitive case Πνυκὸς, from πυκνοῦσθαι, *saxis substerni*. This assumption shall presently receive further confirmation. The whole building is 875 feet in circumference. The *suggestum*, βῆμα (also called by the more unassuming name of λίθος,[3] from its being hewn out of the rock), is ascended by two landings with nine steps. At the bottom it is twenty-seven feet, at the top ten feet in breadth, and is a few inches under ten feet high.

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[1] For instance, Martini on the Odeums of the ancients. See also Bættiger, Notifications to Twenty-four Lectures, xvii. p. 66.

[2] viii. 132.

[3] Aristoph. Peace, 680.

Plutarch's account gives rise to some doubts,[1] if we rightly understand him to say that the *βῆμα*, which in earlier times stood facing the sea, was not till the time of the Thirty Tyrants turned inland. So it stands even now, and must have been so from the first, according to the construction of the whole, since the speaker stood on this elevation, facing the assembly, as an actor does in front of the theatre.

Traces have been found of steps hewn out of the side of the rock to serve as seats, most probably for the Prytanes. The remaining space may have been furnished with wooden benches, on which the populace reclined, like sheep in their pens (*πρωτόξυλον*,[2] that is, the first row of benches, for the *φυλὴ πρωεδρεύουσα*, *i. e.* the first seated or prerogative tribe).

The locality of no spot has been more accurately ascertained by testimony, as well as from monuments, than that of the hill of the Museum. Pausanias says that it lay over against the Acropolis, that it was capable of being fortified, and that the monument of some Syrian person was erected on it. This monument, erected about 114 years after Christ, is still extant, with this inscription:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, and ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, beneath two statues in a sitting posture. The last of these, who undoubtedly erected this monument, calls himself in the Latin inscription, C. Julius C. F. Fabia Antiochus Philopappus cos. frater Arvalis Allectus inter Prætorios ab Imp. Cæsare Nerva Traiano

[1] Pericles, 19; Stuart's Map, vol. i. Compare Le Roy, p. i. pl. 9.
[2] Aristoph. Acharn. 24.

Optumo Augusto Germanico Dacico.[1] He was probably a grandson of the fourth and last Antiochus of Comagena, and erected at the same time a statue of his ancestor, Antiochus Epiphanes, who was enrolled among the benefactors of Athens. This hill lay to the south of that of the Pnyx, on the boundaries of the city, separated from it only by a broad, hollow way.

By knowing the situation of the Pnyx and the Museum, the accounts will be more intelligible which are handed down to us by Attic tradition concerning the battle of the Amazons, which are equally clear and useful with regard to topography as they are enigmatical for history.

These warlike priestesses of the natural divinities of Asia were the first, according to tradition, who consecrated the Areopagus to Ares, and fortified it as a bulwark against the Acropolis. Here, also, was the rock of the Amazons.[2]

Now the Atthis of Cleidemus relates, that during the battle against Theseus the left wing of the Amazons faced the Amazonium, consequently it was turned towards the Areopagus, while the right was turned towards the Pnyx, in the neighbourhood of the golden Nice.[3] The Athenians, on the contrary, were posted

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[1] Paus. i. 25, 6; Stuart, vol. i. cf. Marini, Atti dei fratelli Arvali, t. i. tv. 56, p. 175, t. ii. p. 721.

[2] In like manner we may interpret in Æschylus, Eumen. v. 691, ἐπώνυμος πέτρα. Then in that case Ennius has also incorrectly translated, "Areopagiticam ea de re me vocant petram." See Jos. Scaliger on Varro, p. 118. The pretended expositors are silent on this point.

[3] Very doubtful, according to Reiske's conjectures.

on the hill of the MUSEUM, and came in contact with them on the road which leads (between the hills) to the *Peiræan* gate, near the HEROON of CHALCODON.

Thus far every circumstance agrees exactly with our plan; we also learn that the Peiræan road ran through the above-mentioned hollow way. In the accounts, however, that follow these, so many unknown places are mentioned, that a topographical analysis of them is totally impracticable.

In this place we have once more occasion to mention the LYCABETTUS. It has been proved above (*Topography of Attica*) that this hill, forming part of the town itself, lay in the neighbourhood of the Acropolis, where, according to mythology, it was dropped on the earth by Pallas. We then also conjectured that this was the same as the MUSEUM, but we have now no hesitation in identifying it with THE HILL OF THE PNYX; for Meton is said to have made his astronomical observations on the Lycabettus.[1] Further, we also know that the HELIOTROPIUM (sun-dial) which he erected in the archonship of Apseudus, and by means of which he, with Euctemon, computed the summer solstice for the year 432 B. C., stood near the wall of the Pnyx.[2] If, therefore, Meton had not two distinct observatories at Athens, the Pnyx must have been situated on the hill Lycabettus.

Thus prepared, we shall proceed to determine another important point, THE AGORA IN THE CERAMICUS.

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[1] Salmasius in Solin. p. 522 a.

[2] Scholia on Birds of Aristophanes, 998; Suidas, Μέτων.

No place is of more importance than this, and on none have opinions fluctuated more.

The CERAMICUS within the city formed an entire city district, while the OUTER CERAMICUS formed part of the suburbs. There were roads to both these places from the Dipylon, one of the most considerable gates of the city.[1] This district of the city contained streets, long colonnades, cross-roads, and particularly an open market, the ἀγορὰ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, called simply the ἀγορὰ, or, by way of distinction, Κεραμεικός. We must pay particular attention to Pausanias's mode of expressing himself, for this writer speaks of the Ceramicus without mentioning the Agora therein by name; yet that he is actually describing it, from chap. iii. to xiv., is evident, since, in the first place, the STATUES of LYCURGUS, DEMOSTHENES, HARMODIUS and ARISTOGEITON, which he mentions as being in the Ceramicus, actually stood on the Agora;[2] and, secondly, the METROIUM, which he mentions as standing in the immediate vicinity of the senate-house, βουλευτήριον, which last, according to other accounts, also stood in the Agora.[3]

But, on the other hand, Pausanias[4] gives the name of ἀγορὰ to a place which lay at a considerable distance from the Ceramicus, and belongs to quite a different

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[1] Lucian, Scythes, 3; Plutarch, Sylla, 14; Livy, 31, 24.

[2] Paus. viii. 3, 4, 5; Plutarch, V. X. Orr. Psephisma, 3, p. 279, cf. p. 256. See further Psephisma, 1, p. 275.

[3] Plutarch on this, p. 255; Paus. i. 3, 4. Æschines contra Ctesiphon. p. 576, 32, to be compared with Andocides concerning the mysteries, p. 19, 3. See also Suidas, Μητραγ.; Harpocr. ὁ κάτωθεν.

[4] Cap. xvii.

district, as will be shewn more clearly hereafter. This, with Hawkins for our authority, we shall henceforth term THE NEW AGORA.

Now, in order to determine the site of the ancient market, we put together the following accounts.

The Pnyx, though to be particularly distinguished from the Agora, must, nevertheless, have been situated IN ITS IMMEDIATE VICINITY; for in Aristophanes we find the excellent DICÆOPOLIS, who had repaired with the first dawn of day to the assembly in that place, looked down upon the market-place, where the busy folks were going to and fro;[1] and when an assembly was to be held in the Pnyx, the police were forced to drive the people from the market to the Ecclesia, and block up all the streets that led from it.[2] For the same reason, when PHILIP had taken ELATEIA, all the retail dealers were driven from their stalls in the market, and their booths burnt, in order that the people might assemble more quickly on the PNYX.[3]

From this it would appear that the Pnyx formed one of the boundaries to the market, while the other is formed by THE ASCENT TO THE ACROPOLIS. ARRIAN thus points out the site of the statues set up in honour of the Tyrannicides (both those statues which Alexander restored to the Athenians, as well as those which were made by Critias after the loss of the first), "in the Ceramicus, where we ascend up to the citadel (ἐς πόλιν), nearly opposite the Metroium, not far distant

[1] Acharn. v. 23. [2] Scholia on verse 22.
[3] Demosth. de Corona, p. 284.

from the altar of the EUDANEMOI," which stands on the level ground.[1]

These same statues are mentioned by Aristotle as being in the Agora.[2] It is clear that the Agora extended to the Propylæa; here the above-mentioned statues stood on somewhat elevated ground, which, however, sloped downwards a little farther on. To this same conclusion we are brought by the story of the mule, which (during the building of the Propylæa), although discharged on account of age and infirmity, regularly presented itself with the others every morning in the Ceramicus, and then went up along with them to the citadel.[3]

Our conclusion, then, will scarcely be gainsaid if we neither place the ancient market, with Barthelemy, in the most northern district of the town, nor with Hawkins, to the south of the citadel, but in THE VALLEY BETWEEN THE PNYX, AREOPAGUS, AND ACROPOLIS, where all those hills and eminences meet together, which were early decorated with temples and altars. Although the valley may at present be uneven, it was not always so; nor can we see why the ancient market of Athens should have been more level than the markets of other towns built on hills.

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[1] Arrian, Exped. Alex. III. 16, cf. Paus. i. 8, 5.

[2] Aristotle, Rhetoric, i. 9. Compare Pausanias on this passage. Concerning statues, Meurs. Pisistr. c. 14. Corsini, Fast. t. iii. p. 171. On the difference between the more ancient and more modern statues (which, however, stood together). Kœhler on the Honour paid to Statues, p. 4, &c. Thiersch. Epochs of Art. II. Notes, p. 33.

[3] Plutarch, Cimon, 5. De Solertia Animal. 13.

Those more remarkable ruins, which are found to the north of the citadel, may help to pave a way for us in our attempt to fix the site of the new market. First, PORTIONS OF WALLS, standing almost due north, at a considerable distance from the Propylæa, where the following inscription has been found:—

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΟΥΒΑ ΤΙΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΝ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ.[1]

Now PAUSANIAS mentions, among the buildings of that place, a GYMNASIUM of Ptolemy, and Cicero certainly was acquainted with the Gymnasium of Ptolemy at Athens.[2] Here stood the statue of Ptolemy, and of the Lybian Juba. One of the Egyptian Ptolemies was undoubtedly the founder of this Gymnasium. His descendant by Cleopatra, Juba the Second, of Mauritania, had also a statue there, whose son is THE PTOLEMY in question, king of Mauritania, in the reign of CALIGULA.[3]

According to Pausanias,[4] the Gymnasium of Ptolemy was near the NEW AGORA. There is now standing, to the south-west of these ruins, a gateway, with an INSCRIPTION (OF ADRIAN'S) on one of the pillars which support it. It relates to "the appropriation of

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[1] Stuart, i. p. 1.

[2] Cicero, de Fin. v. 1

[3] The temple of the Ptolemies appears to me, from the locality given by Lucian (Demosth. 1), to be immediately in the vicinity of this Gymnasium.

[4] Pausanias, i, 17. 2.

part of the produce of the olives in payment to the state."[1]

This certainly was connected with the market where the olive oil was sold.

Near one of the gates of this market[2] (for it was surrounded with colonnades) stood a bronze statue of Hermes Agoræus. This is described by Lucian as an ancient piece of workmanship, much soiled with pitch by the brass-founders who lived in the neighbourhood.[3] According to Philochorus, it was erected by the nine Archons, just at the time when the walls to the Peiræus were building, as is shewn by the inscription: —

Ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτον τευχίζειν ὅιδ' ἀνέθηκαν
βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δογμασι πειθόμενοι.

At that time Cebris Eponymus, and also Themistocles, were archons, in the interval between the two Persian wars, in the second or fourth year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad.[4] Also at the time of Aristophanes and Demosthenes[5] it was known by this name, and thus, even at an early date, this was one

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[1] Spon, Voyage, t. 3, 2, p. 24, cf. Wilkins, Atheniensia, p. 64, and Meursius, Ceramic. 16, p. 507.

[2] With respect to this πύλη πυλῶν, πυλίς, we must not, with Hawkins (p. 15), think of a city-gate, πύλαι.

[3] Zeus Tragœdos, 33.

[4] Philochorus in Harpocr. Hesych. p. 48, 49, Siebelis. Compare Thucyd. i. 93.

[5] Oath of the sausage-dealer, who kept his stall in this market. Equites, vi. 298. Zeus Agoræus, v. 810. Demosth. against Euerg. and Mnes. p. 1146. Compare Harpocr. Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι.

of the markets of Athens; and when it is here termed "*the new*," it is only to be taken in this sense, that it was much later decorated with buildings and monuments;[1] for on one side of this market stands a Doric portico, on the ARCHITRAVE of which is the following inscription:—Ὁ δημος απο των δοθεισων δωρεων ὑπο Γαιου Ιουλιου Καισαρος Θεου καὶ Αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος Θεου υἱου Σεβαστου Αθηνᾳ αρχηγετιδι (not αρχηγετιᾳ) στρατηγουντος επι τους ὁπλιτας Ευκλεους Μαραθωνιου του καὶ διαδεξαμενου την επιμελειαν ὑπερ του πατρος Ἡρωδου του καὶ πρεσβευσαντος επι αρχοντος Νικιου του Σαραπιωνος Αθμονεως. On the ACROTERION: Ὁ δημος Λουκιον Καισαρα Αυτοκρατορος Θεου υἱον. Σεβαστου Καισαρος υἱον.

The date of the adoption and death of Lucius Cæsar the younger affords sufficient proof that the portico cannot have been built prior to the twelfth year before Christ, nor subsequent to the thirteenth year after Christ. Neither can we agree with Spon and Wheler, when they declare it to be the temple of AUGUSTUS, for that stood on the Acropolis.[2] Not far from the above is a basis, with an inscription in honour of Ιουλια Θεα Σεβαστη Προνοια.

To the ruins above described a large building is annexed, running downwards from the Acropolis, one side of which is decorated with slender Corinthian columns on elevated bases.[3] This is no TEMPLE, therefore neither the Olympium nor the Pantheon,

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[1] Strabo, x. 447, cl. means certainly the same, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρετρίας, ἣ νῦν ἐστιν ἀγορά.

[2] Gruter. Inscr. Thes. p. 105.

[3] Stuart, i. c. 5, p. 37.

but a spacious hall — no doubt the Pœcile, for Pausanias places this between the *Agora* and *Gymnasium* of Ptolemy, and goes to it through the small gate of Hermes Agoræus.[1] A doubt may, indeed, seem to arise from the fact, that those remains exhibit a later (Roman) style of architecture, resembling any thing rather than the character of that building which was erected or arranged under Cimon (in remote times being called the Stoa-Peisianactios), and decorated with paintings by Panœnus, Polygnotus, and Pamphilus;[2] yet, we may easily suppose that the old façade was removed, and a new one added, when it became the meeting-place for the Stoic school. Hence it is so often mentioned by Lucian (Jupiter Tragœdus is represented by him as acting in it). His description also of its situation agrees in many particulars with our former statements. One who would go from the Academy to the Pœcile would pass through the Dipylon, and over the inner Ceramicus.[3] The Ceramicus, being a city-district, must also have extended to the neighbourhood of the Pœcile,[4] which was a very extensive building, with public walks, and covered after the manner of a basilica. The Athenians were most

[1] Paus. i. 151, where it is also placed by Lucian, Zeus Tragœdos, 33.

[2] See Bœttiger, Archæology of Painting, i. p. 274, 279. Compare Rutgersius, Varr. lectt. v. 1; De Pnyce et Pœcile. The σανίδας of the paintings is even mentioned by Synesius, Epist. 135. Compare Lucian, Zeus Tragœdos, 32.

[3] Fischer, c. 13. We cannot conclude from this passage that the Pœcile stood in the Ceramicus.

[4] Zeus Tragœdos, 15.

likely indebted to Adrian for the beautifying of the exterior of this building, who also had a Pœcile built near his Villa Tiburtina, in imitation of that at Athens.[1]

Behind the Pœcile and Gymnasium of Ptolemy, not far from either,[2] the THESEUM is still remaining in good preservation. The carved figures of the Metopes representing the deeds of Hercules and Theseus are sufficient proofs of this. It is the most celebrated of the four temples of Theseus, which he had in common with Hercules; it was built after Cimon had brought the hero's bones from Scyrus, in the third year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad. It was also an asylum for maltreated slaves.[3] This building stood in the neighbourhood of the HORCOMOSIUM.[4]

We have yet to mention, on the north side of the citadel, the OCTAGONAL TOWER OF ANDRONICUS CYRRHESTES, built of marble, whose eight sides were turned towards the cardinal points of the heavens, the winds being represented in relief. On the top of this tower was a small marble obelisk, surmounted by a Triton holding a small staff, which pointed to the wind that blew.[5] At present, it is a Turkish chapel. Stuart found, in clearing away the rubbish from the white marble floor, cavities and basins of a water-clock

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[1] Spartian, 5; Adriani, c. 24.

[2] Paus. i. 17; Plutarch, Theseus. 36. ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον.

[3] Philochor. p. 33; Meurs. Athen. Atticæ, c. 6. Another between the long walls.

[4] Plutarch, Theseus, 27.

A place adjoining the Theseum, so called from the *solemn oath* with which the peace made with the Amazons was ratified.—*Translator's Note.*

[5] Varro de R. R. 3, 5; Vitruv. i. 6, 4.

(Κλεψύδρα, *horologium anaphoricum*), which, as it appears, was connected with a sun-dial on the outside.[1] This tower, adapted to so many uses, was built by Andronicus Cyrrhestes, if we may conclude from the sculpture of the relievoes, about 100 years before Christ.

This scientifically constructed CLEPSYDRA must not be confounded with the FOUNTAIN OF THE SAME NAME, which was used for religious purifications, and was so called from its concealing and carrying off its *waters*, so to say, by stealth, for it flowed from the citadel for a short space into the lower town, where it was lost under ground, reappearing at the distance of twenty stadia, near Phalerum. It was also called Πεδώ 'Εμπεδώ.[2] We learn from Pliny that this spring on the citadel was called Æsculapii Fons; but the TEMPLE OF ASCLEPIUS stood, according to Pausanias, on the south side of the *Acropolis*.[3] Not a vestige of it is now remaining.

We shall now turn to the south side of the city. Here no building occurs of so much importance as the temple of ZEUS OLYMPIUS. About 500 paces south-east of the citadel stand the splendid remains of a magnificent temple, commonly called the columns of Adrian. At the time of Stuart, seventeen gigantic columns of the Corinthian order[4] were still standing,

[1] Stuart, t. i. p. 16. Wilkins, p. 171.

[2] Aristoph. Lysistr. 913, and Scholia on the whole passage; also, Wasps, 853; Plutarch, Antoninus, 34; Hesych. Κλεψίῤῥυτον, Κλεψύδρα, Κρήνη, Πεδώ.

[3] Plin. H. N. 2, 103. Paus. i. 21, 7, who also mentions the spring.

[4] Stuart, t. i. c. 5; t. ii. c. 1; t. iii. c. 2, p. 11.

from which may be developed the plan of an "*Ædes, decastylos, dipteros,* and *hypæthros.*"[1] What can this have been but the temple of *Zeus Olympius?*—one of the greatest wonders of the ancient world! But before any proofs are produced, we must trace the history of the temple.

Thucydides mentions this temple among the most ancient sanctuaries, and places it in the *southern* district of the city.[2] It is said that Deucalion built it over an opening in the ground, through which the waters of the flood disappeared.[3] The place where this whirlpool had been was even shewn in Adrian's time in the Peribolus of the temple, whence it follows that its situation was pretty much the same at all times.

Pisistratus undertook, with the assistance of four architects, to add a colossal outbuilding to this temple, which was continued by the Pisistratidæ, but not finished.[4] This was, without doubt, of the ancient Doric style and proportions. Dicæarchus,[5] astonished as he was at the plan of "the monstrous building," saw it but half completed.[6] It was 300

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[1] That is, "a temple, with a double row of ten columns in front, and without a roof."—*Translator's Note.*

[2] ii. 15.

[3] Paus. i. 18, 7; Marmor Parium, i. 6, 7. This was the reason why, at Athens, the feast of Zeus Meilichius was celebrated in the same month with the Hydrophoria.

[4] Vitruv. vii. Præf. 15; Aristot. Polit. v. 11.

[5] Dicæarchus Messenius wrote a short geographical work, called Ἀναγραφὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.—*Translator's Note.*

[6] P. 178.

years from the time of Pisistratus that Antiochus Epiphanes, of Syria, conceived the bold plan of continuing the building, by the aid of the architect Cossutius; but neither was he doomed to finish it.[1]

The undertaking of Epiphanes took place about 167 years before Christ, the same year in which he consecrated the temple of Jerusalem to the Olympian Zeus. Eighty years later, Sylla caused several of the columns of this temple to be brought to Rome to be used in the rebuilding of the Capitoline sanctuary. These, however, could have been only some columns of Pisistratidean structure, which had been laid aside as useless, since none other corresponded with the Tuscan order of the Capitoline temple.[2]

The friends of Augustus were desirous of completing the Olympium in honour of the "*Genius Augusti*," however, they also relinquished the plan.[3] Meanwhile, even in this unfinished state, it was considered the principal temple of the lower town.[4]

At last it was finished by Adrian in the third year of the 227th Olympiad,[5] and decorated with a colossal statue of Zeus, wrought of gold and ivory. The Peribolus, of four stadia, was decorated with

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[1] See Livy, 41, 20; Athen. v. 194; Vitruv. vii. 15, 17.

[2] See Pliny, xxxvi. 5; Hirt on the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter; Treatises of the Berlin Acad. 1812, xiii. p. 30.

[3] Sueton. Aug. 60. Compare Strabo, ix. 396 e.

[4] Vitruv. vii.; Præf. s. iii. 2, 8. Compare Schneider, p. 180.

[5] Ἀναγραφὴ Ὀλυμπιάδων. Spartian, Hadr. 12. Nevertheless, it is mentioned by Lucian as not quite finished. Icaromenipp. 24.

statues in honour of the emperor,[1] who was then himself styled *Olympius*, and had for his priest Tib. Cl. Herodes Atticus.

Within the same circular wall was also enclosed a temple of Cronos (Rhea) and a sacred field of Γῆ Ὀλυμπία.[2]

To the north-west angle of the Peribolus which surrounds the Olympium is immediately attached an arch of *beautiful Corinthian architecture*. The bearing of its line of section is from south-west to north-east. On the side turned towards the Acropolis we find—ΑΙΔΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΗΠΙΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ; on the other side, towards the Olympium—ΑΙΔΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ.[3]

Without paying any regard to the absurd meanings given to this by some English authors who, in a barbarous fashion, read ἄ ἰδεῖς instead of ἄιδ ἐις' Αθῆναι, κ. τ. λ., we may take it for granted that, from this inscription, the Olympium and the whole south-east district of Athens came to be considered as the city of Adrian; not that we are to infer from this that it was later built, but because the emperor had, in particular, decorated this district with buildings. Among these were the Heroon, Pantheon, and Panhellenium, which have totally disappeared from the

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[1] Compare Chandler, Inscrip. ii. 41, 42, 43. The last inscription unquestionably bears us out in the truth of our assertion. Compare what Chandler (Syllabus, p. 26) quotes.

[2] Thucyd. ii. 15; Plutarch, Theseus, 27; Paus. i. 18, 7.

[3] Compare similar inscriptions on boundary columns in Strabo, i. p. 65, ix. 392; Plutarch, Theseus, 25.

face of the earth. The aqueduct of Adrian also led to this new town. Adrian and Antoninus Pius made a large reservoir on Mount Anchesmus, which was constantly supplied by a conduit from the numerous springs of Cephesia. The mountain of Anchesmus lies to the east, at a short distance from the city. The reservoir was decorated with a frontispiece of the Ionian order, part of which still remains. Spon has been fortunate enough to decipher the whole of the inscription: — Imp. Cæsar T. Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug: Pius Cos. 3 Trib. Pop. 2 PP. Aquæ ductum *in Novis Athenis*, cœptum a divo Hadriano patre suo consummavit dedicavitque.[1]

Near to the Acropolis are found the Choragian Monuments. First, that of the Choragus Lysicrates, ridiculously called the lantern of Demosthenes. It is a round building, after the manner of a Tholus, without any opening to the inside, and decorated with Corinthian columns and Bacchanalian representations in relievo. On the top of the cupola stood a tripod. The following inscription was in the architrave: — Λυσικρατης Λυσιθειδου Κικυνευς εχορηγει Ακαμαντις παιδων ενικα Θεων ηυλει Λυσιαδης Αθηναιος εδιδασκε Ευαινετος ηρχε. The date given is the second of the 111th Olympiad, that is, 335 years before Christ.

Three hundred paces to the west of this, on the south side of the Acropolis, is the rock-chapel of our Lady of the Grotto (Παναγία Σπηλιωτισσα), anciently the Choragian monument of Thrasyllus of Decelia,

[1] Stuart, t. ii. p. 28. Compare Fanelli. p. 331.

in the first year of the 115th Olympiad, that is, 320 years before Christ. It is a small temple, open in front, where stood the tripod of Victory. On the top of the monument was a Bacchus in a sitting posture, dressed in a female attire; this statue is now in England. On either side were two tripods, erected by the state in honour of the Choragus, in the second year of the 127th Olympiad; a fact proved by existing inscriptions.[1]

Not far from this monument are TWO SINGLE CORINTHIAN COLUMNS, on the top of whose triagonal plinths stood formerly two Choragian tripods; the cavities in which the feet stood are still visible. From these Choragian monuments we shall be able to determine the situation of the STREET OF THE TRIPODS, and the direction in which it ran. This street was filled with these beautiful tokens of a noble emulation, so pleasing to the gods.[2]

Pausanias,[3] in his usual hasty manner of describing, says of this monument of Thrasyllus, "Above the theatre (ἐν τῇ κορύφῃ τοῦ θεάτρου) is a grotto in the rock near the Acropolis, inside of which there is also a tripod." With this we may compare the following

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[1] Stuart, vol. ii. p. 29; Wilkins, p. 60.

[2] Paus. i. 20, 1; Athen. 12, 542. Ἡλιόδωρος περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι τριπόδων, Harpocr. s. v. Ὀνήτωρ. Here most of those Choragian inscriptions must have been found which Van Dale (Dissert. ad Marmora, p. 678), Boeckh (Political Economy, t. i. p. 494), mention. That one, likewise, for example, which Chandler found near the monument of Lysicrates, II. 51, Syllabus, p. xxvii.

[3] i. 21, 5.

inscription from Philochorus:[1] "Æschræus of Anagyrus caused the tripod which stands above the theatre to be dedicated and silvered over, which he had gained the year previous with his choristers, as a token of victory. He also had the above inscription placed in a niche of the rock" (ἐπὶ τὴν κατατομὴν τῆς πέτρας[2]).

Beneath the above-named chapel of the Panagia Speliotissa are certainly still to be seen the traces of a large theatre cut in the rock. This must clearly have been the stone theatre of the Athenians, the building of which was probably commenced in the time of Æschylus, and finished under the administration of Lycurgus.[3] But there are still standing, not far from the Propylæa, south-west of the Acropolis, considerable remains of an extensive and magnificent theatre, of which the circular wall is in tolerable preservation.[4] Pausanias, in his walk through Athens, did not observe it; therefore it must have been built subsequent to his departure. Pausanias, however, was certainly at Athens in the first half of the reign of Antoninus Pius; and towards the end of that reign, about 160 years after Christ, Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus,[5] died, to whose memory the latter built an ὠδεῖον,

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[1] Harpocr. Κατατομή, p. 62. Siebelis.

[2] Such an inscription on the rocks of the castle was also seen by Stuart, but very much defaced. S. T. ii. p. vii.

[3] Suidas, Πρατίνας; Hesych. and Suidas, s. v. ἴκρια; Schol. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 402; Plutarch, V. X. Orat. Lycurg. Hyperides in Apsines, p. 718. Compare Barthelemy, note, p. 571. See Hermann de Choro Eumenidum Dissert. altera, p. 8.

[4] Stuart, t. ii. c. 3, p. 23.

[5] Corsini F. A. iv. p. 173.

which was the most beautiful in Greece. This Pausanias incidentally notices while he is describing that of Patræ in Achaia.

Philostratus[1] calls the same building a theatre, which he almost immediately after proves, since he omits not to mention the roof as being constructed of beams of cedar.[2]

Further, this Odeum Herodis must be particularly distinguished from that more ancient one burnt by Sylla, and rebuilt by Ariobarzanes Philopater, king of Cappadocia. This was situated in the neighbourhood of the theatre of Dionysus.

Themistocles and Pericles originally intended this covered rotunda for the musical contests at the Panathenæan festival. It was of such an immense size that 3000 men, horse and foot, could easily be contained in its interior and the adjoining halls. Lycurgus put it into good repair, as he had done many other public buildings. It was destroyed by fire in the first year of the 175th Olympiad, and should properly be laid to the charge of the soldiers of Mithridates, who thought thereby to prevent the Syllean army from using its vast timbers for ship-building.[3]

We may also add to the established points of lo-

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[1] V. Sophistarum II. i. p. 551, viii. p. 556.

[2] Near this Odeum was found a relievo, representing Bacchanals after the ancient style, of which Stuart has furnished a copy. Visconti (Mémoires, p. 126) concludes incorrectly, from this, that the building was of a more ancient date.

[3] Vitruvius, v. 9, 1; Cratinus in Plutarch, Pericles, 13; Xenophon, Hellen. II. Appian, Mithridat. p. 331; the inscription in the Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscr. xxiii. p. 189.

cality that of the spring CALLIRRHOE, from the time the Pisistratidæ constructed a fountain there, called ENNEACRUNOS, but subsequently, in the time of Cratinus, DODECACRUNOS.[1] This is mentioned by Thucydides among the remarkable places of the southern district of the town, it having anciently served for religious purposes, but more particularly so in later times.[2] It was situated in the neighbourhood of the Olympian temple.[3] Since then, stripped of the works of art by which it was surrounded, it has recovered its ancient name, and it still runs (as Cratinus describes it in his time) for some distance along the sandy bed of the Ilissus.

There are also traces remaining of *the bridge* over the Ilissus, and on the farther side remains of the great STADIUM PANATHENAICUM, built and cased with marble by Herodes Atticus.[4] One who had passed over this bridge (which was probably on the road to Agra, where the minor Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated) would be in that spot where BOREAS, rushing down from a rock, carried off the beautiful *Oreithyia*.[5] Two or three stadia higher up, Socrates and Phædrus

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[1] Thucydides, ii. 15; Paus. i. 14, 1; Pliny, Hist. Nat. iv. 7, 11, where "Callirrhoe Enneacrunos" are found connected. Solin. c. vii. incorrectly makes a distinction between them. Cratinus, in Tzetze's Chil. viii. Hist. 184, v. 259, of a corrupt fragment. Suidas, sub verbo Καλλιρρόη et Δωδεκάκρουνος, Hesych.

[2] Thucydides on this passage. Compare Herod. v. 137; Pliny, xxxi. 4, 28.

[3] Hierocles, Præm. Hippiatricon; Meurs. Ceramic. xiv. p. 493.

[4] The Temple of Fortune, Τυχη, Philostr. V. Sophist. II. 5, p. 550.

[5] Plato, Phædrus, p. 7, Bekker.

reclined close to the murmuring brook of Ilissus, overshadowed by lofty plane-trees.[1]

The small IONIC TEMPLE on the south side of the Ilissus, not far from Callirrhoe, now called Παναγια εις την πετραν,[2] is by many considered to be the temple of Demeter at Agra, but it appears too insignificant for that. Others, again, with even less justice, call it the Sacellum of the hero Panops; for the fountain of Panops, which was near a small gate in the wall, must be sought for between the Academy to the north, and the Lyceum eastward of the city,[3] that is to say, quite in a contrary direction.

These are, according to our conceptions, the buildings, open places (or areas), hills, grottoes, and springs, whose situations may be determined from remaining ruins, or at least may be considered as connected with such. Setting out from these fixed points, we shall be able to accompany Pausanias with more certainty in his walk through the city of Athens. By means of these we shall also be able to conduct the Panathenæan solemn procession to the temple of the goddess.

This singular and solemn procession (which in its curious arrangements can perhaps only be compared to the festival procession of St. Rosalie at Palermo) set out from the Academy, or outward Ceramicus, along the broad and straight road through the DIPYLON into the city.

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[1] Compare Lucian de Domo, 4.

[2] Stuart, t. i. p. 8; Fanelli, p. 337.

[3] Plato, Lysis. See the beginning.

Since the Dipylon is likewise termed the THRIASIAN GATE,[1] and Thria not being far from Eleusis, it follows that it stood next in order to the HOLY GATE which leads to Eleusis; this again is so nigh to the *Peiræan Gate* that no other could possibly lie between them.[2]

But that all these gates were very near each other, and lay in much the same direction, I conclude from this, that it was also possible, and indeed customary with many, to pass through the Dipylon on the way to the Peiræus.[3] The road which led from the Dipylon to the inner Ceramicus[4] cannot have been very long, for this reason, as well as many others, that while one extremity of the Panathenæan procession was yet in the outer Ceramicus (that is, from six to eight stadia from the city-gate), the other end had by that time reached the LEOCORIUM, in the middle of the inner Ceramicus.[5] Here it was that Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, was conducting the procession when he was killed by Harmodius and Aristogeiton.[6] The procession with the sacred ship could certainly have proceeded directly from the Ceramicus to the citadel,

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[1] Plutarch, Pericles, 30.

[2] Plutarch, Sylla, 14.

[3] Lucian, Navig. 16, Dial. Meretr. 4, 2. Pausanias also mentions the tomb of Anthemocritus as being in front of the Holy Gate. Plutarch, in Pericles, places it in front of the Thriasian Gate, whence Hawkins (513) has too hastily inferred their identity. Compare Isæus in Harpocr. Ἀνθεμοκρ.

[4] Livy, xxxi. 24.

[5] Thucyd. vi. 7. Compare Harpocr. Suidas, Hesych. ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμικῷ, and certainly in the Agora. See the very descriptive localities in Demosthenes against Conon, 1258, and twenty following, Reiske.

[6] Compare Frontin. Strateg. iv. 7; Plutarch, Demetrius; Virgil, Ciris.

but it was more pleasing to the Athenians that it should be carried first through the most beautiful streets of the city round about the Acropolis, as we shall presently see.

The next place the procession proceeded to was the ELEUSINIUM, and passed along the PELASGIAN WALL,[1] of which the latter, as we have above remarked, lies to the north of the citadel, in the neighbourhood of Pan's Grotto; the Eleusinium, therefore, must have stood somewhere in the same district. We know, also, from other sources, that it was not situated far from the Agora of the Ceramicus, but was built on more elevated ground.[2] From this place the Pompa passed by the PYTHIUM, where the tripods were dedicated to the victors in the Thargelia.[3]

The locality of this famous temple may first be determined from the probability that it stood where the tripods were displayed, that is, in the STREET OF THE TRIPODS, which runs southward from the Acropolis. The account of Thucydides agrees with this, who places it amongst the ancient sanctuaries of the southern district of the city.[4] But the accounts we have concerning the Pythaistæ will lead us to determine its situation with more accuracy. Before the

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[1] Philostrat. V. Sophist. II. 5, p. 550.

[2] Xenophon, Hipparch. (*ἀνιέναι μέχρι τοῦ* Ἐλευσινιόυ) Hierocles, Hippiatr. Compare Thucyd. ii. 17.

[3] Isæus Or. IV. p. 113 R.; cf. VI. 187. Suidas, *Πύθιον*; Plato, Gorgias, 472 a. *Ἀριστοκράτης, οὐ αὖ ἐστὶν ἐν Πυθοῖ τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν ἀνάθημα*, namely, a tripod, can also be written *ἐν Πυθίῳ*.

[4] Thucyd. ii. 15. Compare vi. 54.

setting out of the Pythian procession (Θεωρια) from this Pythium, the so-termed Pythaists had to watch during nine nights, *i. e.* three nights in each of three successive months, for propitious omens by lightning. These observations were made from the *earthen altar of Zeus Astrapæus*, inside of the wall *between the Olympium and the Pythium*.[1]

This brings the Pythium in the Tripod Street, though as near as possible to the temple of Zeus Olympius. Not until the procession had passed before this last-mentioned sanctuary did it turn back to the Acropolis, and then moved up the broad ascent of the Propylæa. We learn also that the Pompa passed by the Hermæ, where Demetrius Poliorcetes erected a scaffolding, whence his concubines[2] might see the procession.

Menecles[3] describes the direction of the Hermæ Street as passing between the Βασίλειος στοα on the Ceramicus on one side, and the Pœcile on the other, consequently, running from the ancient market to the new, and joining both. In this street were erected Hermæ innumerable (among them the Hipparchian), most of them having inscriptions. Here also was the colonnade of the Hermæ,[4] and although the Hermæ Street proceeded from one point of the market, yet, at the same time, a part of the same may have been

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[1] Strabo, ix. 404 c.

[2] Athen. iv. 267.

[3] Harpocration, Ἑρμαῖ.

[4] Æschines against Ctesiphon, 572, 5. Compare Lysias against Pancleon, and Demost. against Leptines, c. 93.

designated by that name, which indeed was actually the case.[1]

We now no longer need hesitate to accompany PAUSANIAS himself in his perambulations through Athens, though it is accompanied with great difficulties, from the fact that he seldom, and only casually, mentions the roads and paths he turns into.

Pausanias, in all probability, in setting out from the Peiræus, enters the city from the PEIRÆAN GATE. The first building which meets his eye is the POMPEIUM (where all the apparatus and furniture used in the Panathenæan festivals was kept).[2] Then he mentions a temple of Demeter, which indeed takes a name also from the statue of Iacchus.[3] From the gate to the Ceramicus extend colonnades. Here were many remarkable structures which, in this place, we must pass by in silence.

With chapter iii. he arrives at the Ceramicus, which he calls χωρίον. On the right hand is the STOA BASILEIUS, where the second Archon administered justice and the council of the Areopagus held their sittings.[4] On the left hand, on the con-

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[1] Athen. ix. 402; Xenophon Ἱππαρχ. p. 959, cf. Lysias against Pancleon, p. 731, 2. R. Compare Meurs. Athenæ Atticæ, p. 114; Sluiter Lectiones Andocideæ, p. 32. The Platonist Hipparchus also mentions these Hermæ, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν δήμων, p. 228.

[2] Compare Diog. Laert. ii. 43.

[3] Paus. 1, 2, 4; Plutarch, Aristid. 27.

[4] Compare Demosth. against Aristogeiton, 776. 20. Compare, concerning the Stoa, Fisher on Plato's Euthyphron, c. i.; Schneider on Vitruvius, t. ii. p. 311. According to Pausanias Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος stood here; according to Isocrates, Evoq. p. 298, Ζεὺς Σωτήρ. Compare Harpocr.

trary, is the Stoa of the twelve gods (Στοὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται), and for this reason, that on coming from the Peiræan gate he must have turned back a little. Consequently, it must have been the western side of the market which Pausanias was then surveying.

The markets at Athens, as those of Gabii[1] and Herculaneum, were surrounded by colonnades, many of which were probably built by Cimon, for the purpose of embellishing the Ceramicus. Pausanias immediately after mentions the Metroium (state archive), with a statue of the goddess, by Phidias.[2] The situation of this place, opposite the statues of the Tyrannicides on the ascent to the Acropolis, has already been mentioned above, with the remark, that it stood in the immediate vicinity of the Βουλευτήριον.

Perhaps, also, both were surrounded by a Peribolus. Not far from this stood the THOLOS, a cupola-shaped building, destined for sacrifices, which were there offered by the Prytanes. Perhaps it ought to be placed more towards the centre, between the eminences which surrounded the market. Higher up, continues Pausanias, are the STATUES OF THE TEN HEROES, from whom the Athenian tribes derived their names. These so-termed Ἐπώνυμοι (on which newly proposed laws were hung up to public view)[3] must

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Chandler thinks he has found the basis of the statue of Adrian of this Stoa. Inscrip. p. xxvi.

[1] Visconti, Monum. Gabini.

[2] Compare Arrian, Periplus of the Euxine Sea.

[3] Wolf, Prolegom. in Leptineam, p. 133.

certainly be placed on the slope of the hill of the Areopagus.

Next to this comes a row of statues:—Amphiaraus, Eirene, Lycurgus, Callias, Demosthenes, Calades, Pindarus, concluding with those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (the Tyrannicides). The site of these has been as accurately as possible determined above.[1] That we are here actually on the slope of the hill of the Areopagus is strongly confirmed by his mentioning after the statue of Demosthenes the sanctuary of Ares, which gave its name to the hill itself.

After Pausanias has finished the description of these statues, he, in a very remarkable way, flies off from the regular succession of local description, and we find him immediately in front of an odeum, which he soon afterwards[2] describes as being situated in the neighbourhood of the fountain ENNEACRUNOS, and therefore at a great distance from the Ceramicus. This singular diversion may be accounted for in this way, that Pausanias intended to give here at once a *complete enumeration of all the statues of celebrated men* then standing at Athens, and, for this reason, was led to this Odeum, in front of which stood the statues of the Ptolemies. This Odeum, moreover, was probably built by the Ptolemies, but otherwise not known by any particular name. It could in no

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[1] That the memorial statues stood near the Eponymoi is shewn by Lucian, Anacharsis, 17, where we must read—*ἀναστῆσαί τινα χαλκοῦν παρὰ τοὺς Ἐπωνύμους ἢ ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.*

[2] i. 14, 1.

case have been the Odeum of Pericles, or that of Herodes.

Near the fountain he also mentions an adjoining temple of DEMETER and CORA, which is probably the small Ionic temple on the Ilissus; he, at the same time, mentions another of ARTEMIS EUCLEIA, built after the battle of Marathon.

Here Pausanias returns to the proper order of his local description. "Above the Ceramicus and Stoa, called the royal, stands the temple of HEPHÆSTUS." Since he commences his description of the place with that Stoa, it is very evident that his walk around the Ceramicus is finished, where, however, he has omitted many things which deserve to be noticed. For instance, the LEOCORIUM above mentioned, in the middle of the market, the PHEREPHATIUM[1] and ÆACIUM[2] somewhere near it, but particularly the ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS, which Pisistratus, grandson of the tyrant, erected in the market-place, and which the citizens subsequently enlarged. It stood there as early as the first year of the sixty-fifth Olympiad (519 years before Christ).[3] According to Herodotus, the distance from this altar to Pisa, that is, to the temple of Zeus at Olympia, was 1485 stadia. With this fact we may look for some religious connexion, and may, perhaps, assume that the sacred processions of the Athenians set out from the above-

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[1] Demosth. against Conon. p. 1258, 20 Reiske.
From Pherephatte, the same as Proserpine.—*Translator's note.*
[2] Thucyd. vi. 54. [3] Herod. vi. 108.

mentioned altar.[1] But a better reason offers itself why Herodotus should have computed his stadia from this point. A tolerably ancient inscription, found by Chandler[2] (XΣ for Ξ) on a wall near an outer gate of the citadel, with a little restoration is as follows:

. . . . ἔστησε . . . . μνημεῖον ἀληθές
[ὅττι γε] σημαίνει [μέτρον] ὁδοιπορίας.
[Ἔστιν γὰρ] τὸ μεταξὺ θεῶν πρὸς δώδεκα βωμόν
[τρεῖς καὶ] τεσσαράκοντ' ἐκ λιμένος σταδίοι.

From this we see that, probably from the time of Pisistratus, distances were measured throughout Attica, and even farther, from this important monument in the market-place, and that it was for Athens what the *Milliarium Aureum* was for Rome. How conclusive is not this supposition, although in this place we may not follow it up.

The several distances which the ancients assigned to the Attic demi (that of Acharnæ, for instance) will probably only require to be calculated from the area of the Ceramicus; and we may perhaps reckon among its results a greater certainty respecting the actual length of an Attic stadium. In fact, I am not afraid to affirm that the Hermæ placed by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, *along the highroads*, were at the same time milestones;[3] for Simon, a disciple of Socrates, says that there was a statement engraved on the left

[1] This assumption has led me into erroneous combinations with respect to topography. Minervæ Poliadis Sacra, p. 1, not. 1.

[2] ii. n. 25. Compare Syllabus, p. xxiv.

[3] The pseudo-Platonic Hipparch. 229 a.

side of these Hermæ, mentioning whether they stood in the centre of the city or in the centre of a demus.[1] This gives good reason for supposing that the distances were marked on them at the same time; for what end could it have served merely to give the name of the demus?

One part of the Agora was called Κύκλος.[2] Here were sold slaves, earthenware, fish, meat, vegetables, &c. Hence the different parts of that place were named from the articles sold in them, as — τὸ λαῖον, τὰ κρόμμυα, τα σκόροδα, &c.

The Ceramicus, as a city district, contained, besides the chief market, many streets, and extended as far as the Thriasian Dipylon.[3] There also stood, on the point where two roads cross each other, a Hermes with four heads, which served, probably, for a sign-post to the different roads.[4]

We shall now accompany Pausanias farther on his walk. Above the Ceramicus (he continues) and the Royal Hall, stands the temple of Hephæstus. From these words we may infer that it stood on the slope of a hill, probably that of the Areopagus. Here Athena was the *paredros*, or assessor to the artificer god. Farther on, the sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania. By this time Pausanias is arrived at the Pœcile Stoa,

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[1] Ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄστιος ἢ τοῦ δήμου must be correct, since the καὶ from the passage seems to have come in ten lines above. The Στειριακὴ ὁδός is the road to the Steiria.

[2] Hesych. Pollux, 10, 2.

[3] Lucian, Dialogi Meretricii, 4, 3. Compare Scythes, 3.

[4] Meurs. Ceramic. 15, p. 497.

most probably after passing through the Hermæ Street, for this we know leads from the Royal Hall to the Picture Gallery. He passes through the GATE OF HERMES AGORÆUS, over the new market, without naming it; describes the pictures in the Pœcile, and the statues standing in front, and then returns to the market, on which stood the ALTAR OF COMPASSION, where the Heraclidæ took refuge. In the immediate vicinity of this stood the altar of ZEUS AGORÆUS.[1] From this place he passes through a side-gate to the GYMNASIUM OF PTOLEMY, over against it, and describes the statues and paintings there; among others he mentions the statue of the Stoic CHRYSIPPUS. This statue is placed by others[2] in the Ceramicus. May we conclude from this that the Ceramicus extended to this place? Not, indeed, with any degree of certainty, since the misplacing of statues, and like errors, are not unfrequent in Pausanias.

From the Gymnasium Pausanias arrives at the neighbouring THESEUM, which, from its standing in a district where few other temples are found, must be considered as one of the later-built sanctuaries of Athens.

To accompany Pausanias farther on his walk we must first return with him to the NEW MARKET, which he evidently leaves, because he now mentions several temples which stood to the north and east side of the citadel. First, the ANCIENT ANACEUM;[3] higher up,

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[1] Euripid. Heraclides, 69; Aristoph. Knights, 410.

[2] Diog. Laert. vii. 182; Cicero de Finibus, i. 11.

[3] From this the Ara certainly originated, which is mentioned in the

the Aglaurium, on the steepest side of the Acropolis; still farther on, the Prytaneum. This last must be carefully distinguished from the Tholus of the Prytanes in the Ceramicus. In this the Prytanes sacrificed to Zeus Soter, to the neighbouring mother of the gods, and other deities, at stated times.[1] In the other, ambassadors were entertained, and any one else to whom the state wished to pay particular honour. Here were also kept Solon's ἄξονες,[2] and stood the Hestia of the state, the hearth with ever-burning fire.[3] The Prytaneum stood, at the time of Plutarch, on the same spot where it is said Theseus first built it.[4] In the neighbourhood of this was the Heroon of Pandion.[5] Behind the Prytaneum lay, according to some popular accounts, the so-termed Field of Hunger (Λιμοῦ Πεδίον[6]). The Prytaneum itself must also have stood near the Acropolis; for Pausanias expressly remarks that he now turns down ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως (to the lower part of the city), that is, into the district of the Ilissus. The road which he here followed runs

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Catalogue d'Antiq. de Choiseul, p. 24, with the inscription, — Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Σωτῆρσιν Ἀνακοιν τε Διοσκουροιν ὅδε βωμός; undoubtedly that remarkable relievo in Caylus, Recueil, t. vi. pl. 47.

[1] Demosthenes, Προοιμ. δημηγ. p. 1460.

[2] Pollux, viii. 10. The Ἄξονες in the Prytaneum, the Κυρβεις on the Agora, certainly in the Βουλευτήριον.

[3] Meurs. Athenæ Attici, i. 8, p. 136.

[4] Theseus, c. 24, without Reiske's emendation.

[5] This we may infer from a decision of the Pandion tribe concerning their Choregi inscribed in this temple, and discovered on the eastern wall of the citadel. Chandler, ii. 6. Syllabus, p. xxii. The place of the wool-market near the Prytaneum. Lucian, Dial. Meretr. 2, 3.

[6] Apostol. Centur. 12, 2; Zenob. 4, 93.

past the SARAPEUM, by the COVENANT ALTAR of Theseus and Pirithous,[1] and sanctuary of ELITHYIA. In the meantime he has arrived at the temple of ZEUS OLYMPIUS, to his description of which he appends a brief account of ADRIAN'S PANTHEON, the PANHELLINIUM, A TEMPLE OF HERA, a STOA of Phrygian marble, and a GYMNASIUM with columns of Numidian marble. All these new buildings may be placed in Adrian's town.

After Pausanias has cursorily mentioned the PYTHIUM (which, in fact, was nothing more than a statue of the Pythian god), he passed to a more remote part of the city, to the DELPHINIUM situated near the gate of Ægeus. Plutarch, at least, mentions a Hermes to the east of this sanctuary, ὁ ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις.[2] Pausanias next mentions a temple of APHRODITE ἐν Κήποις, which district, though at that time it lay within the city, was perhaps not so in earlier times. He then passes through the gate, most likely that of ÆGEUS, and arrives at the GYMNASIUM and the demus of CYNOSARGES. This gate and demus must have been to the east, if not to the north-east, of the city. The LYCEUM, on the other hand, which he immediately after visits, lay more to the southward, on the Ilissus.[3]

The Lyceum, Cynosarges, Colonos, and Academy,

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[1] Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 1594, refers to a different district where this covenant was made; at the Colonus Hippius, out of the city.

[2] Theseus, 12.

[3] Strabo, ix. on the aqueducts and plane-trees. Compare Theophrast. H. pl. i. 10; Varro, R. R. i. 37; Plin. xii. 1; Plutarch, V. X. Orat. Lycurgus.

were originally sanctuaries of Apollo, Hercules, Poseidon, and Athena, to which demi had been annexed. Pausanias then walks along the course of the Ilissus for a short space, which he passes (most likely by the bridge above mentioned), and proceeds to Agræ, where he mentions the temple of ARTEMIS AGROTERA, remains of which are probably still existing. On his return he meets with the beautiful STADIUM OF HERODES, which, as it then stood in full splendour of marble, might well have excited great admiration. Lycurgus, the treasurer, appears to have erected a stadium there, which, in all probability, Herodes merely restored.[1]

We remarked above, when we were at the temple of Theseus, that Pausanias, after having made some devious excursion, generally returns to the spot from which he sets out; in the same way he considers this walk in the LOWER CITY as a mere off-shoot from his main object, and again commences his description of the upper city at the PRYTANEUM. From this place the TRIPOD STREET runs along the south side of the Acropolis, as has been sufficiently proved above.

In several temples of this street were rows of brazen tripods,[2] which were not so much admired on

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[1] See Plutarch, V. X. Orator. p. 251.

[2] Plato (Gorgias, 472 a) mentions a whole row of these. Nicias and his brothers, *ὧν οἱ τρίποδες οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἑστῶτές εἰσιν ἐν τῷ Διονυσείῳ*. Compare Plutarch, Nicias, 3. *Νικίου ἀνάθημα καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρόποσιν ὑποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς*. It remains uncertain which Dionysium is meant, since Plutarch (in Arist. l.) says likewise, indefinitely, *ἐν Διονύσου*, though certainly the Lenæum.

their own account as for the bronzes which great artists had placed between their feet. Among these were the satyr of Praxiteles, and the young satyr with Dionysus and Eros in another temple, &c. Opposite, a Silenes, of porous stone, on the top of a column stood the tripod of Andocides.[1] This street was altogether more splendidly distinguished than any other in Athens[2] by the architecture of its temples and public buildings, the productions of art both in ancient and later times, and the fruits of ambition and love of distinction in successive Choregi.

Pausanias walks along this street until he arrives at the THEATRE, in the immediate vicinity of which stood THE MOST ANCIENT SANCTUARY of Dionysus, which Thucydides also mentions as lying to the south of the citadel. This is indisputably that PERIBOLUS commonly called the LENÆUM, and situated in the marshy quarter of the town, Limnæ, which would incline us to place it as much to the south as possible. Here were TWO TEMPLES — that of the god of Eleutheræ, and that of the MYSTICAL BACCHUS, in whose honour the Anthesteria[3] were celebrated.

In this same place were formerly the wooden seats

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[1] Plutarch, V. Andocid. p. 229 H. ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ.

[2] Athen. xii. 542, f.

[3] See Thucyd. ii. 15; Demosth. against Neæra, 1370; Paus. i. 20; Hesychius, ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών, and others generally; Boeckh on the difference of the Lenæa, Anthesteria, and the rural Dionysia, in the Treatises of the Berlin Academy, 1817, p. 23. In the last-mentioned temple there was a painting representing Dionysus carrying Hephæstus back to the Olympus. As this same representation is found on several vases, we identify in the venerable old Bacchus the god of the Anthesteria.

for spectators, the poplar-tree near which the stages were fitted up, the earliest Θυμέλη, &c. From this sanctuary the name τὸ Διονύσου, or τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερόν, was transferred to the theatre opposite.[1] This was surrounded by buildings and halls, which were very commodious for the thronging multitude, and particularly for the chorus.

Vitruvius mentions as such the PORTICOES of Eumenes (Porticus Eumenica), which have been sought for to the west of the theatre, the above-described temple of Dionysus, and the Odeum[2] lying to the left hand as you come from the theatre.

If we may consider the chief entrance to be the flight of steps on the left side of the theatre, then the Odeum would be situated near the citadel, where we have placed it above. It still remains to be observed, that any one who stood near the Propylæa of Dionysus would have the Odeum facing him, and indeed could see into it; by which means, finally, the principal buildings of the Tripod Street became so closely connected and so variously combined with each other that it would scarcely be possible for one to err much in describing them.

After Pausanias has described the ODEUM,[3] which

[1] Boeckh on Demosth. Midiana, in the Treatises of the Berlin Academy, 1820, p. 7.

[2] v. 9, 1; Stuart's Conjectures Antiq. ii. viii. *Eumenicum* for *Eumenica* is throughout incorrect. A portico of Attalus is mentioned by Athenæus, v. 212, most likely the very same.

[3] Facius (Remarks, p. 73) very foolishly confounds this building with the arsenal of Philo in the Haven! That we ought to write σκηνης is self-evident.

was built by Pericles, burnt by Sylla, and rebuilt by Ariobarzanes, he adds a few words about the statues of the TRAGEDIANS in the THEATRE.[1] He then turns his steps upwards to the walls of the citadel, and names, as he proceeds from east to west, first the gilded GORGON'S HEAD on the Ægis, which was fixed to the wall to represent the city arms.[2] After this he slightly notices the monument of THRASYLLUS, the TOMB OF THE ANCIENT DÆDALIDE, TALOS (or Kalos[3]), the ASCLEPIUM and its fountain, a temple of THEMIS, the tomb of HIPPOLYTUS, the temple of APHRODITE PANDEMUS and PEITHO (the Odeum of Herodes had not as yet been built); nearest to the Acropolis the sanctuary of GE-CUROTROPHOS and DEMETER CHLOE. The situation of the last-mentioned is, moreover, proved from an inscription to have been in the immediate vicinity of the Propylæa.[4]

Now, at last, Pausanias ascends the Acropolis, with which he closes his description of the city.

No one can expect here a complete account of the numerous splendid buildings which adorned the Acropolis, a place wholly and entirely consecrated to the gods. The Parthenon, the Propylæa, the temple of Polias, and the colossal statue of Athena by Phidias, are only a few of the number. Hence alone its topographical importance.

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[1] Plutarch, V. X. Orat. Lycurg. p. 252. [2] i. 21, 4; v. 12.

[3] i. 21, 6. Εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν certainly means "to the ascent of the Acropolis." Stuart (ii. p. 5) mentions several remains of ancient buildings in this neighbourhood.

[4] Chandler, ii. 10. Syllabus, p. 22.

This rocky citadel, rendered strong even by nature, was fortified on its north side at an early date by the Tyrrhenian-Pelasgians; but Cimon first completed the work, and also carried the wall round the south side.[1] It is to be hoped that we may soon know more about these fortifications than we learn from the absurd assertions of the English, who say they can discover the architecture of three different periods in these walls — the Pelasgian, Cecropean, and the Cimonian.[2]

In later times, as it has been justly remarked, the Athenians considered the Acropolis as a sacred *temple-area;* and for that reason crowned the walls with a Doric entablature and circular wreath, of which there remain to this day imposing triglyphs and crowning-stones.

The longest ascent to the Acropolis was decorated under the administration of Pericles with a magnificent FLIGHT OF STEPS and the splendid PROPYLÆA. The architect was Mnesicles, and the building was commenced in the Archonship of Euthymenes, in the fourth year of the eighty-fifth Olympiad, and finished in five years at an expense of 2012 talents.[3] The ascent was so formed that there were steps only on either side, in order that the processions, together with the oxen for the sacrifice and other apparatus, might ascend between them without any interruption.[4]

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[1] Paus. i. 28, 3; Plutarch, Cimon, 13. Compare Herod. vii. 142.

[2] Hamilton's Memorandums, translated by Boettiger, p. 19.

[3] Heliodor. in Harpocr. Philochorus, p. 55.

[4] See Hamilton's Memorandums (translated by Boettiger), p. 14.

The Propylæa, the plan of which has often been censured by modern impertinence, were no doubt calculated to render the view of the interior of the rocky Acropolis, as well as the retrospect on the city below, more diversified and picturesque by means of the numerous ascents and descents. Among the equestrian statues in front of the Propylæa, one seems to have been that of M. Agrippa.[1] To the right of the Propylæa stood a temple of NICE APTERUS, to the left a small PICTURE GALLERY: portions of the walls of these are still remaining. From this place to the Parthenon, Pausanias only mentions one temple, that of the BRAURONIAN ARTEMIS, but on the other hand a whole forest of statues. He enters the Parthenon at the eastern side, which, in common with all Attic temples, is the front (not so with the Doric). On the pediment was a group of statues representing the introduction of Athena into the assembly of the Gods; on the west side her contest with Poseidon.[2]

From the Prostylon, on the east side, you entered the Cella, then into the Opisthodon, where were preserved the rich ornaments of the temple and the state treasures; last of all, into the hinder Prostylon.[3] This magnificent building, called, from the width of

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[1] Chandler, Inscr. ii. 11; Syllabus, p. xxiii.

[2] Since the excavations made by Lord Elgin, no doubt remains on this point; though, without this even, we ought to have inferred as much from Pausanias.

[3] Compare Wilkins' Atheniensia, p. 96; Visconti, "Mém. sur les Ouvrages de la Sculpture de la Coll. d'Elgin." Hirt in Wolf's Analect. i. 1, p. 350.

the topmost step, Hecatopedon, was built by Callicrates, Ictinus, and Carpion. It was commenced in the first year of the eighty-third Olympiad, and finished in the third of the eighty-fifth Olympiad. In the last-mentioned year Phidias placed the colossal statue of Athena in it.[1]

After Pausanias has left this building, he proceeds along a row of statues to the southern wall of the citadel, and thence he turns to the Erechtheum. This very complicated building (which lays claim to the spot, which from the most remote times has been consecrated to Athena, and connects with itself the most ancient rites, ceremonies, and mythi), is thus composed: of a Cella, facing the east — so the Erechtheum is called, in a narrower sense of the word. In an inner Adytum, which has no direct approach, was the sanctuary of Athena Polias, and in a hinder Cella, lighted by windows, was the Pandroseum. On one side of this is annexed a small portico, supported by Caryatides; on the other side, leading to the principal entrance, a broad open colonnade.

This masterpiece of Ionic architecture was not brought to its present state of perfection until the period from the ninety-second Olympiad to the ninety-third Olympiad. In the fourth year of the ninety-second Olympiad it was not yet completed.[2]

On returning from the temple to the Propylæa,

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[1] Philochor. in the Schol. Aristoph. Peace, 604; Euseb. Chronic.

[2] Minervæ Poliadis Sacra et Ædem in Arce Athenarum illustravit, C. Odofr. Müller, Gottingæ, 1820.

Pausanias passes by the COLOSSAL BRONZE STATUE of Pallas, which Phidias is said to have cast from part of the booty of the first Persian war. This immense statue towered above all the temples in that place, as is shewn by the medal of Pellerin.

In descending from the citadel, Pausanias first arrives at PAN'S GROTTO, which the same medal also places at the foot of the Propylæa. He next arrives at the AREOPAGUS opposite, in the neighbourhood of which is the famous sanctuary of the σεμναὶ θεαί. With this Pausanias closes his walks through the city, to which we have only to add some topographical surveys of the city districts, streets, and gates of Athens.

City Districts.— LIMNÆ to the south of the citadel; the CERAMICUS to the west; COLONOS to the north; and MELITE to the east. Of these two last-mentioned we have not yet spoken.

Colonos, as distinguished from the suburb Colonos Hippius, was termed *Agoræus* or *Misthius*, and appears to have extended from one Agora to the other, for it is certain[1] that it reached to the Hephæstium near the Ceramicus. On the other side it was bounded, according to the city boundaries (ὁρισμοῖς τῆς πόλεως) by the LONG STOA, *i. e.* the Pœcile,[2] though it has erroneously been extended much farther.[3] Properly

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[1] Harpocr. t. v.

[2] This we conclude from a comparison of the Scholia upon Aristoph. Birds, 998, with Ælian, V. H. xiii. 11. Meton lived in Colonos near the Pœcile.

[3] Philochorus, p. 55; Schol. Aristoph. Knights, 998.

speaking, however, the district behind the LONG STOA was called Melite,[1] in which a MELANIPPIUM is mentioned.[2] But the EURYSACEUM which Plutarch seems to place in Melite,[3] is considered by Philochorus more properly to belong to Colonos.[4]

STREETS.—There were only a few which could be properly so termed, and which were at the same time distinguished by name; as, for instance, the *Tripod Street*, the *Hermæ Street*, the *Dipylon*, and that one leading to the *Peiræus*. But even these must have been short, and not altogether straight. Meursius[5] names many more streets, without being able to determine their locality.

From the respective trades, the street where the joiners lived was called τῶν κιβωτοποιῶν, and the open square, τὰ Ἑρμογλυφεῖα.[6]

Generally speaking, what we term streets were rare in Athens; there were more narrow passages, small alleys, *angiportus*, στενωποί. Dicæarchus in his time even found the town, "on account of his anti-

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[1] Compare Demosthenes against Conon, p. 1258, 20. There a set of merry companions go from the Ceramicus up to Melite. Melite not far from the market. Plato, Parmen. see beginning.

[2] Harpocr. If it is not the demus.

[3] Solon, 10.

[4] Philochor. p. 57; Harpocr. Κολωνίτας.

[5] iii. 3, p. 200.

[6] The Μύρμηκες ὁδοὶ we may place in the city district of Melite, since, in a pretended poem of Hesiod (in Harpocr. Μελίτη), Myrmex is called father of Melite. But Hesychius places it most particularly in the demus Scambonidæ, near Eleusis, and from this we may more easily determine the locality of the demus Melite, and those connected with it of Collytus and Diomea.

quity, badly laid out." To all this may be added, that the upper stories of the houses projected. Themistocles and Aristides, though authorised by the Areopagus, could hardly then prevent people from building on the streets. And even at the time when the state had commenced the building of the more splendid public edifices, the dwellings of private individuals were, in every sense, mean and unsightly, built of wood slightly put together, or of unburnt bricks,[1] though sometimes they were externally beautified, which afterwards became an old-fashioned practice in Franconia; for instance, the front of Phocion's house, which stood in the city district of Melite, was covered with copper filings.[2]

Of such private houses there were above 10,000 in Athens (Paris itself only contains 27,000),[3] including, however, those of the Peiræus and Munychia. These houses were either the private property of the families who inhabited them, or they were let out to the sojourners and poor people of Athens (συνοικία). In the larger and finer houses the court-yard was always considered the chief place, and was separated from the street by an outer wall, though in most houses the door led immediately into the street. Those who could not see *the temple* from their houses did not consider themselves at Athens.

There is, nevertheless, something to be said in

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[1] See Meurs. Fort. Athen. c. iii. p. 21; Hirt on the Architecture of the Ancients, p. 143; Boeckh's State Economy, i. p. 70.

[2] Plutarch, Phoc. 18.

[3] Xenoph. Memor. 3, 16, 4.

favour of the ancient mode of building a town, being easier defended when besieged, and rendered more secure against high winds, &c.; yet the new style introduced by Hippodamus in the Peiræus (third year of the eighty-third Olympiad, 446 years before Christ[1]) gave universal satisfaction; namely, Aristotle's recommendation to build certain parts of the town with greater regularity, and the whole with streets crossing each other at right angles.[2] Nor were there in early times any gardens within the city. Epicurus was the first who conceived the idea of a *rus in urbe*.[3]

Gates.—The Peribolus of Athens, which was hastily erected at the suggestion of Themistocles,[4] in the third year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, afterwards destroyed by Sylla, and, notwithstanding all later endeavours, never rebuilt,[5] is yet so well preserved in detached parts, that we can determine its whole extent. It measures nearly the same as computed by Thucydides, that is, above forty-three stadia.[6] It is evident that from the time of Themistocles the extent of the city was not enlarged, but only that the waste lands were more built upon.

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[1] In this year, or soon after, he went to Thuri with Photius. Hesych. Ἱπποδάμου νέμησις.

[2] Politic. vii. 11, 4. [3] Plin. xix. 4.

[4] This was certainly, in more ancient times, the brick wall towards the Hymettus. Vitruv. xi.; Plin. H. N. xxxv. 14.

[5] Zosimus, Hist. i. 29.

[6] In this is certainly not included that piece between the Long Walls, which, however, cannot have been very long, certainly not seventeen stadia. We shall know more about this from the drawings of the Elgin artists, according, at least, to the great promises which have been given us in Hamilton's Memorandum, p. 14.

Of the gates, the site of that which led to the *Peiræus* is accurately known, being in the valley between the Pnyx and Museum. The Holy Gate lay a little more to the north. When Athens was taken by Sylla, that part of the wall between the *Holy* and the *Haven Gate* was battered down (the Heptachalcon was probably a part of this wall). The Romans penetrated into the narrow streets with their drawn swords; the loss of life in the market-place was particularly shocking, and the whole of the inner Ceramicus streamed with blood.[1]

The Thriasian Gate, or Dipylon, which exceeded all the others in magnitude and width, is, as we have already said, generally placed towards the north.[2] This gate led to the more open districts, and therefore to the later built parts of the city. At the time of Lucian it was notorious for the residence of prostitutes.[3] The gate of Acharnæ lay to the north, that of Ægeus towards the east.

Strabo places the gate of Diochares in the districts of the water-springs and of the Lyceum, consequently more to the south.

The situation of the Diomean Gate could easily be determined if we knew where the demus Diomea lay, of which, however, we know no more than that it lay

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[1] Plutarch, Sylla, 14. We must not think of correcting the passage. Ἱεροὶ πύλωνες most probably near the Holy Gate. Philochor. Athen. v. 189.

[2] Plutarch, Pericles, 30; Sylla, 14; Liv. 31, 24.

[3] Dialogi Meretr. 4, 3, 10, 4. The gate of Ceramicus, near which Philostratus (v. Sophist. ii. 8, p. 580) mentions a βουλευτήριον τεχνιτων, is the same as the Dipylon.

near to the district of Melite. The MELITIAN GATE must have led to this demus, or from the city district of Melite. We know, further, that this gate led to the demus CŒLE, where was the burying-place of the family of Miltiades.[1]

The GATE OF THE HORSEMEN (Ἱππάδες πύλαι) was perhaps next to the Dipylon,[2] though, more probably, next to the GATE OF THE CORPSES (Ἠρίαι πύλαι), since the public burial-grounds lay on the road to the outer Ceramicus.

The locality of the ITONIAN GATE is given in the pseudo-Platonic dialogue of Axiochus: "The narrator has passed through a southern gate, in order to enjoy the favourite walk along the banks of the Ilissus, and so to reach Cynosarges. Near Callirrhoe he is called into the city, and enters by the ITONIAN GATE, near the monumental pillar on the tombs of the Amazons,[3] which was very near to the sanctuary of Ge-Olympia, and therefore near to the Olympium itself."[4] Thus, also, the locality of another point is added to those already known, whereby the chain of reasoning on which I have founded the theory of my topography of Athens becomes more and more indisputable.[5]

K. O. MÜLLER.

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[1] Paus. i. 23, 11; Marcell. Life of Thucydides; Herod. vi. 103. Τίθαπται Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος πίρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλουμένης ὁδοῦ. Thus, without the city, not, as Hawkins supposes (p. 516), between the Pnyx and Areopagus. Compare Meurs. Lect. Att. i. 1; Athen. Att. iii. 12.

[2] Philostr. V. Sophist. 2, 9, if in this place οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ἱππίων refers to the name of the gate. Compare Plutarch, V. X. Oratt. Hyperides.

[3] Axiochus, 364 e, d. [4] Plutarch, Theseus, 27.

[5] The map of Attica which accompanies this is founded on that of Sir

PART II.

ATHENIANS.

Names.—Varro the Roman (L L. vii. 18) distinguishes three kinds of Athenians: *Athenæi*, *Atheni-enses*, *Athenæopolitæ*, called so from three different towns, without, however, specifying which he means. Stephanus (*de Urbibus*) enumera tes nine towns called by the name of Athens: in Attica, Eubœa, Bœotia, Acarnania, Laconia, Liguria, Italy,[1] Caria, and on the Euxine Sea ; to which, according to Pliny (vi. 28), we may add another Athens in Arabia ; nay, if we believe Plato, there was an Athens founded in Egypt even previous to the great deluge of Pallas. In this place, however, we are concerned only with the celebrated Athens of Attica, which, according to Plato, was about a thousand years older than that in Egypt, and was, under the dominion of Hephæstus and Pallas, a splendid and flourishing city 9000 years before Plato's time, and blessed with all the virtues of a good constitution, and waged glorious wars with the kings and nations of the islands of the Atlantic, who invaded Greece. As a proof, however, that all this is poetical fiction, Plato's ancient Athens is at last swallowed up by an earthquake.

William Gell's "Carta della Grecia Antica," combined, besides, with the large one by Stuart. In the plan of Athens we have made use both of Stuart and Fauvel by Olivier.

[1] Minervium in Livy, xlv. 16.

In the same way, according to Strabo and Pausanias, a more ancient Athens and Eleusis in Bœotia were destroyed by the Ogygian deluge.

The history of the Athenians commences with the building of the citadel Cecropia, from which the Athenians were also called Cecropidæ. They were called Athenians (Ἀθηναῖοι) from the name of the city, which again may have derived its name from the goddess Athenæ, if both these names were not formed from the name of the country itself, Ἀττίς. From the country also being called Ἀττική, the Athenians were termed *Attici;* and since this name was derived from Ἀκτή (shore), we find derived from hence the poetical appellation of *Actæi.*

The later inhabitants of Attica belonged to the Ionian race of Hellenes; and inasmuch as the Ionian dominion originally comprehended Attica and Ægialus (subsequently called Achaia), the obvious etymology of the name of Ægialus from the Greek word for "sea-shore," renders also highly probable the derivation of the name of Attica which has been adduced. The different way, however, of writing the word—*Attica, Atthis, Athenæ*, reminds us also of the different ways of writing the name *Atys, Attis, Atthis, Athis.* And one is more inclined to derive the names of the Athenians from the latter, when we consider the close connexion that existed between Athens and Eleusis, whose mysteries betray an Asiatic origin. Wagner, indeed, has endeavoured to throw light on the name of Pallas Athene from the Phœnician Ballah Adonah, which would equally justify us in comparing the names of

Cy-belle (Bellona) and Athis, especially since the goddess who is the subject of this discussion was called at Comona as well *Athene* as *Cybele* and *Bellona*.

It is very astonishing, however, that no one has yet noticed the analogy between the names of the two peninsulas of Macedonia; that of Pallene with the giant Pallas, and of Acte with the mountain Athos, since the name of Pallas bears the same relation with Pallene as Athos (for Athaos) bears to Athene; and this analogy of names shews us the route by which the worship of Pallas Athena came into Attica.

The mountain of Athos, for instance, was as much connected with the island of Lemnos as it was with Attica, whose first inhabitants of the Pelasgian race were Lemnians, or at least became such.

Zeus was worshipped on the summit of Mount Athos in the same way as on the Hymettus and Parnes in Attica; and in the principal square of Myrina, a town of Lemnos, a brazen cow was erected just on that spot where the longest shadow of Mount Athos fell during the summer solstice, to which this proverb in Sophocles alludes:

"Αθως σκιάζει νῶτα Λημνίας βοός.

Homer, likewise, leaves us room for suspecting a connexion between these two places (*Il.* xiv. 229) in the journey of Hera from Athos to Lemnos; and that this had a reference to religious matters we learn from the legend of Athena's birth, which tradition may at the same time be considered as the origin of her worship.

Hence we are only able to understand why the Lemnian god Hephæstus had to assist Zeus (who also, from the top of Mount Athos, combated the giants of Pallene) in the birth of the warrior-virgin, Pallas Athena; and why he also, together with the patron goddess of Athens, should have educated her favourite Erechtheus, the founder of the Eleusinian mysteries.

Thus Athene cannot be considered of Egyptian origin, nor do I feel inclined to derive her name from the Greek, as if *Pallas* signified a damsel, and *Athena* one that had never been suckled, or motherless. These interpretations are as improbable as that her surname of *Apaturia* should signify the fatherless; for it is more likely that *Core* or *Persephone*, called in the mystic language *Athela*, should have been termed the unsuckled, because Rhea, frightened at her deformity, would not give her the breast.

Herodotus also expressly says (ii. 50) that nearly all the names of the gods of the Hellenes were of foreign origin, and, with very few exceptions, adopted from the Egyptians or the Pelasgians, who, according to Herodotus (i. 57), spoke a language by no means Hellenic. Etymologists, in speaking of Athene, have almost universally thought of the Egyptian Neith, brought, as it has been said, by Cecrops to Athens, with which the Persian Anahid appears certainly to agree better than the *Athene* of Greece.

Since the Egyptian origin of Cecrops, however, is not free from many difficulties, and that before his time Attica was already inhabited by Pelasgians, who also (see Herodotus, vi. 137) surrounded the citadel

Cecropia with a wall, there is the greater probability that Athene was of Pelasgic origin, and more particularly so since Herodotus derives the names of those very gods who were considered of Egyptian origin from the Pelasgians of Dodona.

Athene was worshipped not only in Athens but also in Pelasgian Arcadia, Bœotia, and Thessaly. In the haven Phalerum, as also in the island of Salamis, under the name of SCIRAS, she had a temple which was consecrated to her by Sciron, the seer of DODONA, who died in the war with Erechtheus against Eleusis.

Since, then, Athena herself was a Pelasgian goddess, and that Athens was originally inhabited by Pelasgians, it cannot appear strange that we should pronounce the name of that people, whose language was subsequently considered the most pure of the Greek dialects, to be not of Grecian origin.

ORIGIN. — The later inhabitants of Attica certainly were of the Ionic family of the Hellenes, who, of all the Greeks, reached the highest degree of refinement; but the first colonists, as Herodotus expressly affirms, were Pelasgians, whose original seat, according to what we have above stated, was probably that very island (Lemnos) to which they retreated on being expelled by the Hellenes. These facts sufficiently prove the most ancient Athenians to have been not only of Thracian, but also, by a more remote descent, of Asiatic origin. Towards proving the first point, we refer to the frequent connexion existing between Thracian and Attic traditionary legends; the opposition made in common by the people of Thrace and Attica

to the introduction of the worship of Dionysus; and lastly to the numerous names in and around Athens which are pronounced to be not of Greek origin.

The Lemnian Pelasgi belong to that race of people by whom the circumjacent islands and the neighbouring continents of Europe and Asia were partly colonised.

According to an ancient tradition, most probably circulated by the Samo-Thracian priests, the earliest of all the great floods, that, namely, which opened a passage between the Euxine and the Ægean Seas, compelled the original inhabitants of *Samo-Thracia* to flee to the mountains. But at that time, as Apollodorus relates (iii. 12), Iasion and Dardanus, sons of Jupiter, were born of the Pleiad Electra upon the island. The first of these married Demeter, or Cybele, who re-established the mysteries of ancient date, while his sister Harmonia, who was united in the presence of the gods to Cadmus, and whose companion Thasus first worked the gold mines in Thasos and in the opposite mountain Pangæus, assisted in founding the Bœotian Thebes.

Dardanus went over to Asia, where, after marrying Batiea, daughter of Teucer, he built the town called, after his own name, Dardanus. From this place his son Ilus founded the city of Ilium on the hill of the Phrygian Ate. In like manner, the wife of Iasion, after her husband's death, travelled with her son Corybas to Dardania, taking with them the holy things of the mother Earth, who was called, according to Hecatæus (quoted in Stephanus of Byzantium), Lemnos by the Thracians, and Cybele by the Phrygians. In

Dardania her son Corybas became chief priest of the sanctuary called after him Corybantian, whose religious rites soon spread throughout the whole of Phrygia.[1]

However fictitious this tradition may be, it nevertheless throws light upon the connexion of the Athenian or Lemnian Pelasgians with the Phrygi-Thracians. For it is readily apprehended from the account that Dardanus came to the land of Troy from the Tyrrhenians in Italy, that the Lemnian Pelasgians were also included within the compass of these traditionary legends; since here, in the same way as in the derivation of the Tyrrhenians from Lydia with the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians of Lemnos (who once upon a time kidnapped Dionysus), they have been confounded with the people of the same name in Italy.

Now Tyrrhenus and Lydus were sons of king Atys, and grandsons of Manes,[2] and from them it was that the Greeks learned those games which had originally a mysterious reference to the rites of Cybele. It is from these same Pelasgians that Herodotus (ii. 51) derives the mysterious worship of the Cabiri in *Samo-Thracia*, which he could safely assert having himself been initiated into those mysteries.

That the Athenians also derived their most ancient form of religion from this sacred institution is to be inferred not only from the very frequent traces of it, but also from the explicit declaration of Herodotus,

[1] Diod. v. 46 et seq.; Scymn. v. 678 et seq.

[2] Herod. i. 94; Tacitus, Annal. iv. 55.

who thence, namely, derives also the Hermes with the Lingam.[1] Also the temple of COLIAS-APHRODITE in Attica, who is called by Aristophanes GENETYLLIS, was founded (according to the Etymological Magazine) by a Tyrrhenian; but a still greater proof is, that not only Athene's favourite, ERECHTHEUS, who was educated under the care of the Lemnian god, Hephæstus, was called by the same name as the brother of ILUS, ERICHTHONIUS, the first inventor of carriages drawn by horses, but that even Athene's statue came originally from Ilium.

When Ilus (see Apollodorus, iii. 12, 3) prayed to Zeus to give him some sign, he found the day following, lying in front of his cottage, the Palladium which had fallen from heaven. This statue was three yards high; the feet were united; in the right hand was a spear, in the left a spindle and distaff. In the succeeding part of the narrative, which, however, Apollodorus gives from other sources, those traditions are brought into connexion with Ate and Electra; so that we doubt no longer that the worship of Athene, as well as the Eleusinia instituted by Erechtheus, had their origin in the SAMO-THRACIAN mysteries, or, what is the same thing, in the *cultus* of the PHRYGIAN CYBELE.

[1] "La raison de représenter le Phallus dans les mystères de Samothrace y avoit rapport à la mort Cabirique. Cette mort, célébrée, en quelque sorte par les pleurs et les gémissements des inities, était celle du plus jeune des Cabires, Cadmille, massacré par ses deux frères, qui s'enfuirent, emportant avec eux ses parties naturelles dans une ciste ou Corbeille. Sa tête fut envellopée aussitôt d'une étoffe teinte en pourpre, et son corps porté sur un bouclier en Asie au pied du Monte Olympe, ou on l'enterra."—SAINTE-CROIX, "Mystères." *Translator's note.*

Pallas Athene, however, appears under two characters—as the *lance-wielding goddess of war*, and as the *patroness of the arts of peace*. With reference to the first she is termed by Homer, Ἀλαλκομενηΐς, and in the other character she is called Ἐργάνη. Both these characters are united in the symbol of wisdom and prudence.

Athene could be compared with the Egyptian *Neith* only in her character of Ergane; though her blue eyes would rather point to a northern origin, both as regards Athene herself and her most ancient worshippers. This at once refutes the notion that the Athenians were closely connected with the Egyptians of Sais at the time of Cecrops; indeed, the dislike of navigation which the Egyptians entertained ought to have created a doubt of that hypothesis. Much, certainly, has been discovered which appears to have come from Egypt; but, for the most part, things of later introduction (and what was there, we may add, that did not find its way to Athens?) have been represented as brought from that country in the earliest times. After the Greeks had become acquainted with the Egyptians, and had also borrowed many of their customs, it became a fashion to derive all those things from Egypt which really originated in Asia; and though any one, as Pausanias, for instance, had learned the truth from the mysteries of a superior being, yet solemn warnings, communicated in dreams, prohibited the communication of that knowledge.

The name of Cecrops, like that of Cadmus, is merely fabricated from the name of the citadel; and

were even this not so, assuredly the termination of the last syllable, which it has in common with Pelops, would point to Ops or Opis, the Phrygian goddess. The whole circle of mythi connected with the name of Cecrops betrays, as the names of his daughters also indicate, its descent from the religious worship of nature which prevailed in Asia. Should we, moreover, feel inclined to explain the name of Cecrops by a not unfrequent metathesis, from the Greek word Cercops (as the Cyclops, who hewed out walls from the rocks were, according to the Etymological Magazine, probably called Κέρκωπες); then, according to the meaning of that word, we must allow "cheats and jugglers" to stand in connexion with the festival of *Apaturia*, in the celebration of which Herodotus (i. 47) has recognised the original Athenians in Ionia. Besides this, Cecrops himself, as well as Erechtheus, was considered by the Athenians to be an Autochthon, and hence they were always represented under a compound form, half man and half dragon. In order to preserve the memory of their pretended Autochthonian origin, the Athenians, even in the latest times, wore golden *cicadæ* in their hair; though nothing further is to be inferred from this than that the first settlement in Attica is to be traced up to the remotest antiquity.

The immigration of the Ionic Hellenes with Apollo, the god of the lyre, was of much later date; still more recently these were joined by the Messenians, under Melanthus, on their expulsion by the Heraclidæ.

Most Ancient Connexion with the Interior of Asia.—Distinct as the more recent Ionian settlers may

have been from the ancient Pelasgians of Attica, since Homer even ranks some of their kindred stock among the opponents of the Greeks (at the siege of Troy), and in Odyssey, viii. 294, calls the Lemnian worshippers of Hephæstus ἀγριοφώνους; yet again they were connected together by a common tie, which alone enables us to explain why, at the expulsion of the Pelasgians from Attica, all which they had introduced was not banished with them. They not only, as Herodotus informs us, lived near and among each other for a length of time, but had also the same remote origin and similar religious notions.

This is particularly seen in the dedication of the first-fruits among the Hyperboreans, which, according to Pausanias (Attic. 31, 2), were brought even in later times to the temple of Apollo in the Attic demus of Prasiæ. The Hyperboreans, out of whose country, according to Pausanias (Eliac, v. 4), Hercules brought the wild olive-tree to Greece, gave their first-fruits to the *Arimaspians*, the one-eyed combatants of griffins, by whom they were delivered to the *Issedones;* from these again they were forwarded by the *Scythians* to Sinope, and then, through the Greeks, were sent to the Prasians, by whom they were brought to *Delos.*

From such a religious connexion of Attica with the interior of Asia, we can now comprehend why Athene in the Parthenon had a sphinx on the top of her helmet, and a griffin on each side.[1]

The similarity of these griffins and sphinxes with

[1] Paus. Atti. xxiv. 5.

those of Persia betray a Hyperborean origin of Athene, and this again leads to a connexion with the Indians; for these Arimaspians are no others than the Schiwenites, who, even to this day, wear the figure of an eye on their forehead in honour of their god. Thus we may without hesitation pronounce the Pelasgian Cyclopes to have been worshippers of *Schiwen;* for not only do their colossal buildings and walls, both in Greece and Italy, betray to the careful observer an ancient Indian origin, but also *Schiwen* himself, having the characteristic eye in his forehead, was worshipped, according to Pausanias (Corinth. xxiv. 5), by the Pelasgians under the name of ZEUS, whom the carved statue on the Argive Citadel of Larissa undoubtedly represented.

The Lemnian Pelasgi bore not only the Indian name of SINTIANS, but also their mode of attiring themselves was similar to the Indian, as the Etymological Magazine says: Πελαργικον, τὸ ὑπὸ Τυῤῥήνων κατασκαφὲν τεῖχος· οὓς καὶ θεασάμενοι τινὲς Πελαργοὺς[1] ὠνόμασαν διὰ τὰς σινδόνας, ἃς ἐφόρουν. Also the number of strange words used in the Samo-Thracian mysteries, according to Diodorus, may be considered as Indian, and the form of words wherewith the Eleusinia were concluded, Κὸγξ ὄμ πάξ, is found among the Brahmins to this day. Also the Lemnian "sealing-earth," *terra sigillata,* which, even at the present day, as in ancient

[1] "They called them Πελαργοὺς," that is, storks (from πελος, black, and ἀργος, white), "because of their linen garments," σινδονες, a word which is generally derived from the city of Sidon, where they were manufactured.—*Translator's note.*

times, is brought annually by the priests in solemn procession from the mountain Mosychlus to be sold, after being first impressed with sacred symbols, as a cure for old wounds, &c., was undoubtedly sought for by the *Schiwenites*, with whom to this day in India it is a sacred custom to bedaub themselves with vermilion or red earth.

On the same Mount Mosychlus, near to the town of Hephæstias, the first forges and iron-foundries were established, which alone, it would appear, gave rise to the traditions of volcanoes in Lemnos; for those passages of the ancients from which Buttman deduces the existence of a volcanic mountain, in fact, speak merely of burnt earth and warm springs near the large caldrons and flames of the forges; but certainly no traces, excepting in the pages of the poets, can be found of former volcanoes.

Though these iron-foundries (which were connected with the mines of Thasos, and from which the island of Lemnos was also called *Æthale*), may have been very early made use of by the Phœnicians, yet the Indian origin of the *Cabiri* proves that the Indians, so skilful in the arts, were the first who introduced into Europe the mechanical application of fire.

Perhaps the *giant scenes* which took place, according to tradition, on the Phlegræan plain in the peninsula of Pallene, may also have a similar reference. If Hephæstus was also of Indian origin, as the *Samo-Thracian Iasion* and the Argonaut *Jason*, who, according to Homer, was a Lemnian, and seem to coincide with *Vishnu* or *Vischan*, the first Indian navigator and

distributor of corn, we can have even less doubts of Athene being of Indian origin, since her name appears again in that of Athis, who, according to Ovid (Met. v. 47), was a grandchild of the Ganges, and combated on the side of *Phineus* against *Perseus*.

Whether she is to be identified with the mysterious *Saraswadi*, or, as Canne supposes, with the black *Cali*, we need not enter into in this place; her name of Τριτογένεια sufficiently exhibits her as an original divinity of Nature.

The Etymologicon Magnum gives many reasons for her name Τριτογένεια; among others, the contradictory derivation from the lake *Tritonis* in Lybia,[1] with which the epithet Γλαυκῶπις seemed best to agree,[2] has met with general approbation.

Canne, comparing the names *Triton* and *Amphitrite*, adopts the interpretation of *sea-born;* but the τριτοπάτορες, *i. e.*, great-grandfathers, who were also worshipped in Attica, shew that this name (Τριτογένεια) is analogous to the Latin *Tritavus* (in German *Drittahn*), and may be interpreted *third-born*.

Whether we consider the *Tritopatores* as gods of the wind, or as the hundred-armed sons of *Cœlus* and *Terra*, they always represent the powers of Nature. *Tritogenia*, also, as a power of Nature, contended with the god of the Trident for the dominion of Athens. Zeus, her father, was worshipped, according to Pausanias (Attic. xxxii. 2), as the sender of rain and as the averter of sorrow, on the Parnes and the

[1] Herod iv. 180, 189. [2] Paus. Attic. xiv. 5.

Hymettus, which names again appear to be of Indian origin.

As far as *Attis* was a symbol of the sun, Athene seems to have personified the moon, which latter, at least according to Creuzer's Symbols (iv. 219), forms an intermediate elementary principle in the Asiatic divinities, and which also are comprehended in the name of Athene.

In Attica, as in other places, the worship of the moon stood for a length of time in opposition to that of the sun, till at last they were peacefully united in the worship of Pallas and Apollo.

The Oldest Form of Government and Religion of Attica.—Attica presents many points of comparison with the most ancient form of government and religion of India; for the sake of brevity, we shall here only notice the most important.

As in India, the oldest reigning families were reckoned back from two genealogies, bearing the names of *children of the sun* and *children of the moon;* so the Ionic Hellenes of Attica with their Apollo, as worshippers of the sun (Ἰάονες, archers so named, from Ion, or Hyperion, in contradistinction to Io), stand in opposition to the ancient Pelasgi as worshippers of the moon; to this not only the brazen cow on Lemnos, which marks the shadow of Mount Athos, bears a reference equally distinctive, but also the honoured family of the Butadæ. As, moreover, in India, the very ancient reigning house of Bharat divided itself into two great lineal branches, distinguished by the names of *Kuru* and *Pandu*, so like-

wise we find in Attica the Βουτάδαι, or Ἐτεοβουτάδαι, descendants of *Butes*, son of *Pandion*, as distinguished from the other family name of Κουρῆτες or Ἐτεόκρητες. And lastly, as in India, the PANDUS came forth victorious, after a long struggle with the KURUS; for we find the kingdom of the Panduans (called by the Greeks Pandion's kingdom, opposite the large island of Aphrodite Colias[1]) predominant in the Deccan: in like manner, in Attica the followers of *Pandion* proved in the end victorious over the *Curetes* in Crete; and in the neighbourhood of the Attic promontory of Colias many indications of Indian influence are visible. That PANDIA, from which the Athenian festival Pandia was derived, signifies the moon, in the same manner as Ægæon (whence the name of Ægeus seems to be derived) signifies the sun, we learn from the Etymological Magazine; and that the name *Curetes* meant worshippers of the sun (the sun, in Persian, being also called COR), appears even sufficiently proved from the equivalent name of *Corybantes*, Κορύβας having the same termination with Λυκάβας, the sun's annual course. Considering these circumstances, we can hardly doubt that the moon-worshippers were originally the ruling party in Attica; whereas the Ionians, on the contrary, who lived in

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[1] Dionys. Cerieg. 592.

This large island is the modern *Ceylon*, as is evident from the lines here referred to in the Geographical Poem of Dionysius, viz.: —

Αἶψά κε Κωλιάδος μεγάλην ἐπί νῆσον ἵκοιο,
Μητέρα Ταπροβανήν Ἀσιη γενίων ἐλεφάντων.

Translator's note.

continual warfare with the Amazons, women of the moon, again introduced the worship of the sun.

The Ionians, likewise, agreeably to an Indian fashion, divided themselves into four tribes or castes. These, previous to the alteration of Cleisthenes, were called after Ion's sons, *Geleon*, *Ægicores*, *Argades*, and *Hoples*.[1] Plutarch and Strabo derive these names from their different ranks and occupations; as if the great and the noble, the shepherds, husbandmen, and warriors, were respectively comprehended under these names. This interpretation, however, can only be applied to the last, and, perhaps, also to the first, which, however, equally denotes the sacerdotal order, and may have been so termed (as well as the second and third) from the splendour of the sun. That the name of the third tribe had some relation to the sun, is hereby rendered more probable from the reading Ἀργάδης, found by Creuzer in an ancient manuscript of Herodotus, and confirmed by an inscription at *Cyzicus*, whither these same names of tribes were introduced by *Miletus*. However this may be, we may safely conclude from what has been stated, that the Pelasgic and Hellenic Athenians, notwithstanding their manifold differences, were not only allied to the Indians by their language, but had many other points in common with them; that the Pelasgians, in particular, must be considered as an ancient branch of the Indians who, probably even before the Brahmins became the predominant caste in Southern India, had spread the worship of *Schiwer*, with his festive orgies,

[1] Herodotus, v. 66.

over Western Asia, where, in many respects, it was changed in one direction into the worship of *Adonis*, and in another into the orgiastic worship of *Cybele*. In no people in Greece is this more apparent than in the Athenians, where not only these two races (Pelasgic and Hellenic) became blended into one, but where also, as Thucydides remarks in the beginning of his history, the first advances were made towards a higher state of civilisation; where, according to tradition, the ancient Troglodyte mode of life was even in early times exchanged for dwelling in towns; where agriculture and lawful marriage were introduced; and where, lastly, together with the care of the olive-tree, all the arts of peace were diligently studied.

GROTEFEND.

History of the Athenians. — The history of Athens shews us a people who, from the lowest degree of barbarism, rose by a gradual developement of their powers to the highest degree of refinement, and became celebrated as the mother, or the nurse, of numerous arts, sciences, and inventions. In this they were aided by a bright, healthy, and temperate climate; by the unproductiveness of the soil, which forced the inhabitants to compensate its natural want of fertility by the application of skill and ingenuity; by their vicinity to the sea, which very early led to navigation, and other arts connected with it; by the circumstance, that the incursions of barbarian hordes, which rarely approached that

rugged and out-of-the-way country, checked not the rise of agriculture; and lastly, by the early adoption of a mode of government which, by the continued improvement of its forms, gradually developed a political liberty for its citizens, out of which, as from a purified element, arose those classical productions of the mind, by which the middle and after-ages have been animated, enlightened, and instructed.

Here, however, we can only notice the chief points of their history.

The history of the most remote epoch, from about 1800 to 1068 B. C., is dark and uncertain. The THRACES and PELASGI, the first inhabitants, seem to have founded the first religious institutions. OGYGES is mentioned as the first king, in whose time (1796 B. C.) occurred a great deluge (called, after him, the Ogygian), by which Attica was laid waste.

For 190 years after that period, Attica seems to have been without a king. In different writers we find PORPHYRION, COLÆNUS, PERIPHAS, and ACTÆON, mentioned as kings or chiefs, after Ogyges. Actæon's daughter married CECROPS, who is generally considered as the first of the seventeen kings, who reigned in Attica from 1556 to 1068 B. C., and by some is supposed to have been a native of Sais in Egypt.

Cecrops divided the people, among whom were 20,000 males, into four tribes, φυλαί. By the institution of regular marriage, he formed well-conducted households, and by establishing a religious service he improved their morals. He also founded the strong citadel CECROPIA, afterwards called the ACROPOLIS

of Athens. His son-in-law and successor, CRANAUS, founded the venerable court of justice called the AREOPAGUS.

PANDION, the fifth king, benefited his country by legal enactments. CECROPS II., the seventh king, did still more than this; he collected the above-mentioned four tribes, who were living dispersed through extensive districts, into twelve towns or boroughs, which had distinct courts of judicature, and magistrates of their own, though subject to the regal government of the Cecropia. The authority and power, however, of almost every ruler after Cecrops being weakened by contests for the crown among the members of the royal family, this collecting of the four tribes into twelve small towns produced not the advantageous results which had been expected; for these towns warred against each other like so many independent states, and thus spread over the whole country the confusion which existed in the royal family. When, therefore, Theseus, the tenth king, had gained sufficient authority over them by his courage, he abolished all the separate courts of justice and popular assemblies throughout the country, and succeeded in persuading the inhabitants of those twelve towns, more by kindness than force of arms, to concentrate themselves round about the Cecropia into one large town which he called ATHENS; thus forming one large community or nation (in the larger sense of the word, δῆμος). He divided the people into three classes: NOBLES, or εὐπατρίδαι; HUSBANDMEN, γεωμόροι; and HANDICRAFTSMEN, δημιουργοί;

but intrusted the first class only with any office of authority, with the administration of the laws and the exercise of the functions of the priesthood. The power of this class, though exalted above the others in dignity, was in a manner counterbalanced by the opulence of the agriculturists and the numbers of the lowest class. In this division of the people into classes, however, lay the materials for all kinds of subsequent collisions and disputes, in the course of which, after the abolition of the regal power, sometimes the second class got the upper hand of the first, then the third of the second, till at last the four classes became completely blended into one. But to return to Theseus, he instituted also the PRYTANEUM, or general Council-Hall, and the *Panathenæan* festival, or solemn meeting of all the Athenians. He invited strangers to settle at Athens by granting them the rights and privileges of citizens, and retained no further power in his own hands than to be their leader in time of war, and the protector of the laws. The novelty, nevertheless, of these regulations created dissatisfaction, which ended in the expulsion of Theseus by MNESTHEUS, a descendant of the kings; though after the death of the latter, DEMOPHOON, son of Theseus, succeeded to the government, as the twelfth king of Athens. Under him was founded the court of justice of the EPHETÆ, who took especial cognisance of the crime of murder. After three more kings of this line, MELANTHUS, a Messenian, came to the throne, whose son CODRUS, the seventeenth king of Athens, sacrificed his life in

a war against the Dorians, in whom the kingly form of government came to an end.[1]

The Second Epoch, from 1068 to 682 B. C., comprehends the government of the Archons, who, however, were all descendants of Codrus. From Medon, the son of Codrus, to Alcmæon, the twelfth of this line, the government descended from father to son in regular succession, but after the death of Alcmæon, from Charops to the last Eryxias (from 754 to 682 B. C.), they had the government in their hands only ten years. The four first of these were still of the same lineage, but the three last do not appear to have been so.

The influence of the constitution founded by Theseus even then shewed itself in a manner not to be mistaken. The title of *βασιλεὺς*, or king, especially comprehended within it the idea of a chief priest. This supreme spiritual dignity was separated from that of the chief magistrate, who had merely the administration of civil affairs, which the word *Ἄρχων* implies.

That these Archons, however, retained, as it seems, their authority undiminished for upwards of 200 years (though, when required, they were occasionally forced to give an account of their administration) was unquestionably owing to that spirit of emigration which, before and after the time of *Medon*, had seized the greatest part of Greece, and carried off the more active and ambitious of the citizens. The most forward spirits were thus transplanted to the colonies, while the exhausted fatherland relapsed, as it were, into a state of

[1] Meursii de Reg. Athen. Amstel, 1633, 4.

lethargy. This was particularly the case in Attica. Not only the original Ionian exiles, but Athenians also and Thebans were led out to Ionia by the brothers of Medon, who did not choose to be their brother's subjects.

There they founded twelve cities, which flourished greatly, and by their noble efforts, high state of civilisation, arts and sciences, wealth and power, for a long time eclipsed and put whole Greece to the blush. No wonder, therefore, that Medon and his descendants for several centuries continued their government in peace, since the ambition of their rivals was gratified in the colonies, whither their flow of good fortune continued to entice the most enterprising spirits, and, consequently remove them from Greece. When the Lydians, however, who had become the terror of Asia Minor, turned their hostile arms against the Ionians,—when the Corinthians (779 B. C.) had put an end to the reign of the Bacchiadæ, the Athenians (754 B. C.), after a long period of political tranquillity, limited the government for life to a term of ten years, and seventy years afterwards to one year only. These are sufficient proofs that Athens had acquired an expansive power which could not fail to produce a new epoch in its history.[1]

The Third Period, from 682 to 338 B. C., comprises the most important part of the Athenian history, being the grand drama of a people extending and maintaining its liberties in a contest with enemies at home and abroad, carrying, at the same time, the arts and

[1] Corsini, Fasti Attici, Florent. 1744–1756, 4, T. 4.

sciences to a very high degree of perfection, till at last, as if wearied and exhausted, it sank beneath the superior power of foreign conquerors.

The more minute circumstances connected with the introduction of the annual government are unknown. Instead of one, there were now (682 B. C.) NINE ARCHONS elected annually from the NOBILITY, who, according to the institutions of Theseus, had the administration of the laws, and filled the religious and secular offices. Encouraged by what they considered to be a settled and prescriptive right, they at last appropriated to themselves the whole power of the reigning family, and divided it equally amongst themselves. By this means an aristocracy was formed, which was the more oppressive because there were no written laws, but only those of custom or usage, which they alone understood and interpreted.

The people at length, no doubt, insisted upon having fixed laws. DRACO was invited to compose a code of laws (622 B. C.); these he called θεσμοί (statutes), but he impressed upon them the stamp of aristocratic severity, so that almost all kinds of offences were punishable with death, and appointed the criminal court of the *Ephetæ* for putting his laws into execution. The horror these occasioned raised a tumult among the people, and Draco was forced to flee to Ægina.

The disturbances consequent upon these execrable laws split the people into factions. CYLON, at the head of one of these, formed the design of raising himself to the supreme power (598 B. C.), but was foiled in the attempt, and, with his followers, was killed by

Megacles, who headed the other party, who, in his turn again, was universally detested for the bloodshed he had occasioned.

To quell these disturbances, Solon, a descendant of Codrus, who had rendered himself particularly famous by taking the island of Salamis, was created Archon (594 B. C.), and intrusted with full legislative powers. He founded a new form of government upon a basis of more temperate laws, which greatly circumscribed the power of the aristocracy, without, however, introducing a democracy. In his constitution the noble-born were no longer constituted as the first class, but all the inhabitants, according to the amount of their incomes, were divided into four classes, and the payment of taxes was regulated accordingly. The three first classes, comprising the wealthy, were alone eligible to any public office of authority. Those of the fourth and last class were admitted only to popular assemblies and public tribunals.

Before any questions were submitted to the decision of the popular assemblies, they were discussed by an annually elected senate of four hundred, and nine Archons, chosen yearly, who exercised the executive powers of government, and the supreme direction of the courts of justice. But a paramount authority over the entire government, over religion and morals, and the administration of the laws, was vested in the council of the Areopagitæ, who were elected from the Archons. They had even power to annul the decisions of the people, if considered by them to be detrimental to the commonwealth. All the rest of Solon's laws were cal-

culated as well to ensure a necessary degree of liberty to the different classes, as to maintain them in due relation to each other and to the state.

This code of laws, however, was neither altogether satisfactory to the poorer classes, who had in vain hoped for a division of lands, nor to the rich, who were discontented from the many restrictions they were laid under. Hence there once more arose three parties. PISISTRATUS, at the head of the most numerous body of the poor, called THETES, raised himself by their assistance to the supreme power and title of Tyrannus (561 B. C.), to which Cylon had formerly in vain aspired.

PISISTRATUS, though twice expelled, was again reinstated by the strength of his party. He succeeded in maintaining his authority by protecting the poor against the oppression of the rich, and by enforcing the execution of the laws of Solon.

HIPPIAS, his son, was, however, expelled by the wealthy and powerful family of the ALCMÆONIDÆ, assisted by the Spartans (510 B. C.). CLEISTHENES, the head of that family, in order to strengthen and bring his party into favour, found it necessary to gain the good wishes of the poorer classes, and give them a greater share in the administration than had been conceded to them by the laws of Solon. From that time Athens assumed a more democratic tendency, and we find the so-termed DEMAGOGUES at the head of the people.

CLEISTHENES, MILTIADES, THEMISTOCLES, CONON, and PERICLES, succeeded each other in the government of the state. It was particularly during the Persian

war (from 490 to 449 B. C.) that the several administrations of these great men were conducted through their judicious and energetic measures with such good fortune that Athens became the leading state of Greece. The common people, even during that period, had extorted greater privileges, particularly under Themistocles and Aristides (479 B. C.), though they did not become independent of the Areopagus. This first took place under Pericles, who conceded to the people unlimited power to act in their own affairs, thereby confirming his own authority against the still ever-powerful party of the rich aristocracy, which he retained to the day of his death (429 B. C.).

The democratical form of the Athenian government was now placed in strong opposition to the aristocratic governments of the rest of Greece, at the head of which stood Sparta. To this was added the rising discontent among the allies of Athens, who found themselves treated more like subjects than independent states. These differences brought on the Peloponnesian war (from 431 to 404 B. C.), during which time CLEON, NICIAS, and ALCIBIADES, stood severally at the head of the people, but not with the prudence and authority of a Pericles.

This unfortunate war was concluded by the taking of Athens, the destruction of her walls, and by the introduction of a rigid aristocracy, by means of which the Spartans hoped to keep the Athenians in a state of subjection. But the spirit of democracy had struck too deep a root, and THRASYBULUS (430 B. C.) succeeded in overturning the aristocracy, and again intro-

troducing the constitution of Solon, with some alterations.

It was, nevertheless, slowly that Athens could recover from a shock which had so materially weakened her power and diminished her riches. It was not until Conon (393 B. C.) had rebuilt the city walls with Persian money, and that Thebes and Sparta, struggling for the supreme power (from 378 to 362 B. C.), had mutually weakened each other, that she regained some part of her former power, and again aspired to be the mistress of the sea. She sustained, however, a great shock from the defection of the islands Cos, Rhodes, Chios, and the city of Byzantium (358 to 356 B. C.), which severally became independent.

When Philip, King of Macedon, shortly after, began to interfere in the concerns of Greece, he at first weakened the Athenians more by artifice than by open force; but in the end they, with the whole of Greece, lost their independence at the battle fought near Chæronea (338 B. C.), when, inflamed by the eloquence of Demosthenes, they attempted with all their strength to check his encroachments.[1]

In the Fourth Period (from 338 to 146 B. C.) Athens regained her former independence for a few years, and then resigned it for ever. Both Philip and Alexander treated Athens with forbearance; but at the death of the latter (323 B. C.) they and other Greeks again took up arms, but were defeated, and obliged to receive a garrison of Macedonians

[1] The History of Ancient Greece, &c. by Gillies, ii. t. 4, Lond. 1786.

(322 B. C.). In that state they remained, with a short interruption, to 319 B. C., when DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES (307 B. C.) again made them independent. In 296 B. C., however, he took the city, as its lord and master, and kept possession of it until 287 B. C., when, during his contest with his opponents in Macedon, the Athenians regained their freedom, which, however, they enjoyed only for the space of twenty years.

ANTIGONUS GONATAS, son of Demetrius, having become king of Macedon, took possession of the city of Athens (267 B. C.); though, in 229 B. C., it was once more set free by ARATUS, the general of the Achæans.

At last (200 B. C.) PHILIP THE THIRD having laid siege to the city, the Athenians called in the assistance of the ROMANS, who, in 146 B. C., converted Greece into a Roman province, and Athens consequently became dependent on them. From that time the history of Athens is merged into that of Rome.[1]

Under the Romans Athens became involved in the war against Mithridates. In 87 B. C. it was taken and plundered by SYLLA, and the walls once more dismantled. Subsequently Athens favoured the republican party, for instance, POMPEY, BRUTUS, and CASSIUS. In return, Augustus deprived them of all their rights and privileges, together with the possession of Ægina. His successors were more or less favourable to Athens, down to the time of Adrian, who erected temples and other public buildings, and even added a

[1] The History of Greece, by John Gast.

new quarter to the city, called *Adrianopolis*, improved the havens, and in many other respects benefited the condition of Athens.

The ANTONINI likewise favoured it; but SEVERUS, in revenge for an insult he had sustained when he was studying at Athens, deprived its citizens of their rights and privileges.

Under VALERIAN (258 A. D.) the walls which had been destroyed by Sylla were rebuilt, from apprehension of incursions of barbarian tribes, who, nevertheless, succeeded in capturing the city (260 A. D.). These were called Scythians and Herulians.

In 400 A. D. Athens was also taken possession of by ALARIC, King of the *West Goths*, but in a friendly spirit, and without the infliction of any violence. From that time until 1204 A. D. we know very little of its history.

When BALDWIN, Earl of Flanders, became Emperor of Constantinople, he gave THESSALONICA, with the Morea, to the Marquis of MONTFERRAT (Boniface), one of his companions in arms, who also took the city of Athens. Afterwards it came into the hands of the Earls of France, Savoy, and Arragon, and, last of all, into the possession of the ACCIAIOLI family, until it was taken by the TURKS, under MOHAMMED the Second.

In 1687 it was again taken by the Earl of KÖNINGSMARK, acting under the Venetian General MOROSINI. During the siege the powder magazine was ignited by a Venetian bomb, and the Temple of Victory, with the

PARTHENON standing on the citadel, were reduced to ruins by the explosion. Three years after it was retaken by the Turks.[1]

P. F. KANNGIESSER.

CIVILISATION AND GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS.

FIRST PERIOD.—The inhabitants of Attica, as we have above seen, were at different times differently named and distributed. The Athenians, says Herodotus (viii. 44), were Pelasgians, and first called *Cranai;* under Cecrops, *Cecropidæ;* under Erechtheus, *Erechtheidæ;* and under Ion were called *Ionians.* By *Cecrops the First* they were divided into four tribes (φυλαι), called *Cecropis*, *Autochthon*, *Actæa*, and *Paralia.* The two first of these names stand opposed to each other; the former denoting inhabitants of foreign, the second of indigenous, origin. The two last, it is evident, took their names from the districts they inhabited.

Cecrops the Second, it is further said, divided them into twelve boroughs (δημοι), but these were all united into one community by Theseus, who at the same time divided all the Attici into three classes: the *Eupatridæ*, *Demiurgi*, and *Geomori.* The names, however, of the first tribes were changed from time to time, as, firstly, *Cranais*, *Atthis*, *Mesogæa*, and *Diacris;* the two last

[1] Francesco Fanelli, Atene Attica, descritta da suoi principii sino all acquisto fatto dall' armi Veneti nel 1687, &c. Venice, 1707, folio. Spon's Travels, 1675.

are again evidently termed so from local position. Secondly, *Dias*, *Athenais*, *Poseidonias*, and *Hephæstias*, called so after the four gods Zeus, Athena, Poseidon, and Hephæstus.[1]

We find the names of the classes into which the people had been divided changed from time to time, in the same way. Ion, it is said, divided them into *Geleontes* (Gerontes, that is, old men, heads of families, also Teleontes), *Hoplitæ* (armed men), *Ægicores* (goatherds), and *Argades* (husbandmen). But Plutarch thus terms them: *Hoplitæ* (armed men), *Ergatæ* (handicraftsmen), *Georgi* (husbandmen), *Ægicori* (herdsmen). In each of these cases we find the distribution according to the respective employments.[2]

If we consider these circumstances minutely, we discover the closest analogy to the Indian and Egyptian division into castes; and the hypothesis that all civilisation and government emanated from the priestly institutions, here also forces itself upon us. The four tribes are named after four deities, and these same deities we know to be the most ancient of the gods of Attica. Hephæstus and Athene are the most ancient and chief deities of Athens, to whom Apollo Patroos was not added until some time after.

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[1] Pollux, 8, 9.

[2] Eurip. Ion. 1571; Plutarch, Solon; Pollux, l. c. That the political parties of the Pedians, Paralians, and Diacrians (in Herodotus called Hyperacrians), agree with the foregoing divisions into tribes, has been proved by Edward Platner, whose contributions to the knowledge of Attic law (published at Narbonne, 1820) should be especially consulted on this subject. We may also compare Hullmann's commencement of the History of Greece.

The contest of Poseidon with Athene for the possession of the country is well known.

When the oldest *festivals* which were celebrated in honour of these gods are duly considered, the mind is carried back still more forcibly to the priestly institutions of the East. The *Athenæa* with the torch-races; the festival of *Agraulos*, priestess of Athene, in whose temple young men took an oath of fidelity to their country; the *mystical basket* with the serpent, which occurs in the mythus of Agraulos; the *Apaturia;* the *torch-feasts*, which were here celebrated in honour of Hephæstus, severally bear an Oriental stamp, and give us sure grounds for determining the most ancient form of government and civilisation in that country. This is even more clearly shewn us in the religion of Demeter, which was transplanted to Eleusis, and according to which all civilisation was connected with agriculture. After this had, as it were, found a sanctuary in the stony soil of Attica, civilisation began to develope itself throughout the whole country. Permanent habitation, property, right of possession, and law, were the necessary consequences of agriculture. This could not fail to have beneficial influence upon domestic life, matrimony, and every family connexion, relative to all of which statutes were made, called Θεσμοι, and solemnised by a feast called *Thesmophoria*. At this feast married women of irreproachable character carried on their heads, in solemn procession, tablets inscribed with these laws.

By these laws the people were commanded to make oblations to the gods with the fruits of the

earth; to honour their parents, and to kill no living creature.

From this it is very evident whence these laws took their origin, and more so, when we learn that Triptolemus has specially forbidden to slaughter oxen used at the plough. They were even considered sacred beasts,[1] at least as symbols of the married state (*συζυγία*, *conjugium*). Equally remarkable with this festival was another — the *Eleusinia;* having reference also to Demeter. Eumolpus is said to have been the founder of these rites, in whose family the dignity of *Hierophant* was hereditary (Eumolpidæ). In this we have evident traces of a connexion with Thracia, where the names of Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, &c., indicate the Oriental institutions of the priesthood, and through them the forming of states and the promotion of civilisation. The hereditary dignity of the priesthood enjoyed by the Eumolpidæ reminds us, that, in like manner, other dignities were hereditary at Athens, in other families besides that mentioned above; for instance, by the Butades or Eteobutades, the Cynides and Ceryces.

The Butades were hereditary priests of Athena Polias, and derived their origin from Butes, who, together with Poseidon and Hephæstus, had an altar in the Erechtheum. Here it must also be remarked, that there was an Athena Buteia, a Demus Buteia, and many more circumstances connected with his name.

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[1] In later times, when oxen were sacrificed, the priest who had killed the beast used to run off, leaving behind him the murderous instrument as an object of accusation.

If Ritter[1] has been as accurate as he has been ingenious in his combinations, then this Butes has reference to Buddha, his father Pandion to the Pandu, the Apaturia to the Avatar of India, with many more, for which we refer the reader to the writer himself. These circumstances, added to many others, carry our thoughts back to ancient India, and so much the more confirm, what is also proved from other considerations, that the earliest form of government in Attica was a Theocracy (*i. e.* a government according to the sacerdotal institutions), and in which the chief priest of each district, or demus, was at the same time its king. It is clear that there were more than one of those institutions — a fact which also appears from the contest among the gods and the rivalry between Cecropia and Eleusis.

One is induced to refer the founding of the Areopagus to the time of these institutions, from the tradition that it was founded by the gods themselves, and that statues of the gods were first erected there.

It can be shewn, first of all in Greece itself, how and by what means the heroes (or warrior caste) caused the government of these sacerdotal institutions to cease; though they never entirely lost their influence. In Attica, Theseus seems to have principally contributed towards this, and, consequently, with him it is more reasonable to enter upon the

Second Period. — Theseus then only could unite the dispersed inhabitants into one community and

[1] See Ritter, Vorhalle der europ. Volks Gesch. p. 398, et seq.

raise the civil power above the priestly, when he had conquered THE SONS OF PANDION, and delivered his country from the tyranny of MINOS. He now collected the divided tribes of Attica into one city,[1] and subverted the ancient form of government by a new distribution of the people into classes. But, in this place the question naturally arises, Why he should also have instituted a NOBILITY? His nobles were such already by BIRTH, and were, for the greater part, of the priestly order.

He was protected by the ORACLE OF APOLLO, which had meanwhile acquired a powerful influence; and yet, apprehensive of consequences, he promised to resign the GOVERNMENT, retaining only the title of Leader of the Armies and Legislator. He paid homage to the priesthood by elevating the Athenæa to the PANATHENÆA; made several NEW LAWS, and instituted a new and general court of justice[2] called the PRYTANEUM.

Whether the laws of Theseus were written, and whether they exclusively related to cases of murder and homicide[3] cannot be determined.

His regulations continued, at least in essential

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[1] Thucyd. ii. 15.

[2] Plutarch. Theseus.

[3] All criminal courts, except the Areopagus, belong to this and subsequent times down to the Archons, viz.—1st. Prytaneum existed, it is said, at the time of Erechtheus; 2d. Delphinium under Theseus; 3d. Palladium founded by Demophoon; 4th. Phreaton, a court of inquest on involuntary homicide. In all these courts, the judges were termed Ephetæ, in later times the Archon Basileus brought the accusation, but not (as Pollux affirms in a passage, viii. 10, 5, v. 12,) in the Prytaneum.

points until the death of Codrus, with whom the succession of the kings of Athens closes.

THIRD PERIOD.—The Archons, in whom the last traces of the ancient sacerdotal government are found, succeeded the kings. The second Archon, who performed the chief sacrifices, and who superintended all matters relating to religion, was termed Βασιλευς, *king*, and his wife Βασιλισσα, *queen*. In the same manner at Rome, when the the kings were expelled, there still remained the *Rex Sacrificulus*.

All the Archons, however, were chosen FROM THE NOBILITY, who held, by right of inheritance, the most fertile parts of Attica. As these nobles fought on horseback, they also formed the EQUESTRIAN ORDER, and, from their being exclusively eligible to the Archonship, they consequently retained in their hands all religious, military, and civil power. Thus, the government of Athens was a complete aristocracy, in which the nobles and knights occupied the places which were formerly enjoyed by the priestly order.

About this time a new legislator in the person of DRACO, was chosen, who, it seems, could devise no other punishment, for offences of whatever kind, than death or banishment; and, perhaps, for this very reason he raised the authority of the EPHETÆ above that of the AREOPAGUS. When parties had risen among the aristocracy itself (those, for instance, of Cylon and Megacles), and all Attica had been driven to open insurrection by the continued oppression of the nobles, we enter upon the

FOURTH PERIOD (forty-sixth Olympiad), commenc-

ing with Solon, who was empowered by all parties to remodel the state, and form a new code of laws.

Solon based his organisation of the state upon the ancient divisions of Theseus; so that the four tribes (φυλαι) were preserved, with the boroughs (δημοι), which had increased to 170. These divisions, however, seem to have been preserved more as a measure of police and for statistical purposes, than with a political view; that those who had the right of citizenship might be distinguished from others. With respect to this, we find the following distinctions among the inhabitants of Athens: — first, citizens (πολιται); secondly, resident foreigners, or sojourners (μετοικοι); and, thirdly, freedmen and slaves.

During the most flourishing period of the republic, there were reckoned 20,000 of the first, 10,000 of the second, and 400,000 of the third. Boeckh, taking as a mean proportion the above numbers, computes the whole Attic population at 90,000 citizens, and 45,000 μετοικοι.[1] To which class these several inhabitants respectively belonged was determined by the city roll, in which were specified each one's tribe, borough, and Phratria, *i. e.* his family, and religious relations to the state. This act of registering was always accompanied with certain solemnities.

Every sojourner, or stranger permitted to settle at Athens, was forced to find a citizen to be his security.

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[1] Boeckh's State of Economy of Athenians, i. 35, et seq.

In a political point of view, Solon retained, in some degree, the distinctions made by Theseus; but he added to them his own new division, not according to BIRTH or PROFESSION, but according to each person's PROPERTY. By this he formed a fourfold classification of the Athenian citizens: — first, the PENTECOSIOI-MEDIMNIANS, in which class all persons were comprehended who annually derived 500 measures of wheat or oil from their estate. Secondly, the KNIGHTS (ἱππεις), that is, every one whose income amounted to 300 measures, and could furnish a horse, which, at that time, in Attica, was no trifling matter. Thirdly, ZEUGITÆ; every individual who had an annual income of 200 measures, and every two of whom could, at the same time, jointly support the expense of one horse. Fourthly, the THETÆ, labourers, to which the poorer, and even the poorest classes of the population belonged, who alone were excluded from holding any office of authority.

The chief power of the state was, according to Solon's constitution, vested, firstly, in the NINE annually elected ARCHONS, who then could hold no other post of a military kind. These were assisted, secondly, by the Βουλη, or COUNCIL OF FOUR HUNDRED. Any matter which had been decided upon in this council was submitted, thirdly, to the ECCLESIA, or general assembly of the citizens, who had the power to accept or reject any proposed law; to elect the magistrates; to vote on every state question; with the privilege of constituting a tribunal for public trial. Fourthly, the AREOPAGUS, which was rein-

stated not merely as the highest criminal court of justice, but also exercised a superintendence over the laws, religion, and morals, with power to revise the decrees of the popular assembly, and even to annul them.

The laws of Solon left no relation of social life unregarded; they extended to education, handicrafts, manufactures, agriculture, and commerce.[1] They exercised a mighty influence on the advancing improvement of the public mind, and also upon the power and resources of the state.

In this place we must direct particular attention to the

Military Constitution. — In Athens, as in the rest of Greece, there was no distinct military order; every citizen, as such, was under an obligation to the state to serve as a soldier, and that without pay; every tribe had its own leader, and these together constituted the commanders, called στρατηγοι.

Subsequent to Solon's time, ten *Strategi* were appointed annually, and the soldiers regularly exercised in the art of ordering an army and directing its movements.

The epoch of military science, however, among the Athenians first commenced in the time of Miltiades. Under him the Athenians, the first of all the Greeks,

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[1] Ant. Thysii Collat. Legg. Athen. and Roman.; Gron. Thes. t. v.; Meursii Themis Attica; Petiti leges Atticæ, l. b. 1741; Meiner's History of the Origin of the Sciences in Greece and Rome, ii. 25, et seq.; Koepke on the Legislature and Administration of Justice among the Greeks, Erfurt, 1806; G. F. Shömann de Comitiis Atheniensium, Greifsw, 1819.

learned the art to storm by assault; though we may easily understand that Miltiades could not have performed his celebrated manœuvres without much previous training and discipline.

Solon's chief aim seems to have been to teach the Athenians more how to maintain their independence, than to form them into a nation of conquerors. With this object in view, he sought, by judiciously taking advantage of the natural position of Attica, to open for them new sources for the advancement of civilisation and the increase of wealth.[1]

COMMERCE, and particularly that BY SEA, must have been of the first importance to a peninsula, whose stony soil could not produce sufficient supply of corn for the number of its inhabitants. Solon, therefore, who had himself made distant voyages, promoted NAVIGATION and encouraged COMMERCE BY SEA, thereby laying the foundation of the future prosperity and power of the country.

The Athenians had chiefly for EXPORTATION the marble from the Pentelicus and Hymettus; silver and lead from the mines of Laurion; figs, oil, honey, and, in later times, the still more important productions of art and industry. The IMPORTATIONS consisted principally in slaves, corn, timber, and other materials requisite for ship-building.

Solon's intention, however, seems to have been to give the greater encouragement to the import trade, while he limited the exportation of goods in various

[1] Heeren's Ideas, iii. 352, et seq.

ways. That of corn and ship-building materials was strictly prohibited. According to Plutarch, Solon even laid a curse on the exportation of all productions of the soil, except oil. This curse was to be pronounced by the Archon, or he was under the liability of being fined 100 drachms.

If, therefore, merely oil and manufactures were allowed to be exported, which did not become important articles of trade till some time after, then, properly speaking, no trade by exchange or barter could have been carried on; consequently, the goods imported must have been paid for in money. We are, therefore, necessarily led to the immediate consideration of the

EXISTENCE OF COIN and the different kinds of money among the Athenians. All ancient writers agree upon this point, that money was first coined at Athens under Theseus. His coinage bears the figure of an ox.

The names of the different coins in the Greek language have a reference to that period of their history, when the metal was not coined, but WEIGHED in transactions by barter: for instance, ὀβολαστατυς, λιτρα, τάλαντον, στατηρ (ἱσταναι, *appendere*, Aristoph. Pax. 717).

The first change of any importance was when the value of each piece of metal was stamped upon it,[1] by which means the continual use of scales was rendered unnecessary. The second great change of importance

[1] Aristotle, Polit. i. 9.

was the introduction of THE POUND in reckoning money as well as in computing weight. This is ascribed to Solon,[1] who raised the value of the *mina* from 72 drachms to 100. Before his time the money of Attica was heavier, and 100 of his new drachms were only equal to $72\frac{3}{6}\frac{2}{9}$ of the ancient, for which reason also, in opposition to the heavy drachm of Ægina, the Attic is termed the light drachm.

There were seven different kinds of silver coin in Attica[2]— the *tetradrachma*, *didrachma*, *tetrobolos*, *triobolos*, *diobolos*, *obolos*, and *half-obolos*. The obolos was divided into eight *chalci*, the chalcus into seven *lepta*. The chalcus and minor pieces were only coined in copper. The *dichalcon*, or quarter part of an obolos, was both a copper and silver coinage.

The ATTIC TALENT and the MINA, like the English pound sterling, was merely an imaginary coin.

The Greeks had their GOLD originally from Asia Minor and Macedonia, where the Phœnicians first discovered the gold mines in the neighbourhood of the Strymon.

It still remains a matter of doubt whether the Athenians ever had any gold coinage in circulation;

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[1] Plutarch's Solon.

[2] As a problem in numismatics, it has generally been observed that the silver coin of Attica was very inferior in respect of delineation and execution; and though in later times it underwent great changes, yet the ancient style was kept up. The head of Athena, covered with the ancient helmet, which we find in the Tetradrachms, seems to be a copy from the most ancient statues of that goddess in the temple she has in common with Poseidon. The later coins certainly deviate from this rule, yet the bad taste and negligence in the execution remain.

but very few original specimens have come down to us, and it would seem that they were only coined upon rare and important occasions, and even then in very small quantities. The scholiast of ARISTOPHANES[1] says, that gold coin was introduced the year previous to the representation of the ECCLESIAZUSÆ, that is, in the second year of the ninety-third Olympiad.

POLLUX[2] particularly describes the weight and value of the ATTIC GOLDEN STATER; according to him, it weighed two drachms, and was in value twenty drachms. Concerning the value of the GOLDEN TALENT, see Corsini Diss. 12; Hemsterhuis on Pollux, 9, 57; and Knight's Proleg. on Homer, sec. 55.

The Persian gold pieces current in later times were the *Darics*, and still later, the Macedonian *Philippeia* and *Alexandreia*. The chief care of the mint at Athens was under the ταμιαι, treasurers to the goddess Athena, and also under that of the Ἑλληνοταμιαι, treasurers of the monies contributed by the allies of Athens.

Although the constitution formed by Solon did not even last the lifetime of its author, yet this in no degree lessens its merit. *This mixed constitution*, formed partly from the aristocracy and partly from the democracy, passed in the first instance into a TYRANNY (or usurped monarchy). This led after the expulsion of Hippias to the most important consequences, no less than the commencement of a de-

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[1] Eccl. 821 of Aristoph.

[2] ix. 6. Compare Scholiast Aristoph. Knights, 1093; Birds, 1106.

mocracy by means of Cleisthenes, a member of the aristocracy.

Fifth Period.—Cleisthenes, in order to strengthen his party, conferred the right of citizenship on a great number of strangers and on many others, to whom, agreeably to Solon's constitution, it could not have been granted; according to which the four tribes were increased by six new ones. The council of 400 was increased to 500, while each tribe had the privilege of sending to this council fifty citizens chosen by lot from among themselves. The representatives of each class held the præsidium in rotation for thirty-five days.

In order to balance the superior power of the aristocracy, and prevent the possible recurrence of a tyranny, ostracism was introduced. The exclusion of the lower classes from holding any offices of authority created great discontent among them. Things remained, however, in the same state for about thirty years, until, upon the instigation of Hippias, the King of Persia invaded Greece with his armies, thereby totally subverting the form of government.

The memorable days of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, Platæa, and Mycale, and the powerful minds of a Miltiades, Themistocles, and an Aristides, gave new life and vigour to the nation. Those victories were gained and freedom protected by the undaunted courage of the people. This only served to raise the proud spirit of the lower orders, who became daily more clamorous in their demands. The aristocracy, fearing they might lose every thing through too much obstinacy, were constrained to make con-

cessions; and ARISTIDES the just proposed the new law, that henceforth no class of citizens should be excluded from the administration of the state, and that the Archons should be eligible from all classes of the Athenian citizens. From the day on which this law was promulgated we may properly date the DEMOCRACY of Athens, the sovereignty of the Athenian people. We shall now point out to the reader a few of the most important results consequent upon the Persian wars and their influence on the state of Athens.

FIRST. — THE VAST RICHES which arose in the first instance from the booty of the Persians, which occasioned the subsequent flourishing state of the art of modelling at Athens; in the next place, the wealthy produce of their own silver mines. "The Athenians," says REITEMEIR[1] (from what we learn in Xenophon),[2] had indeed worked the silver mines of their country from time immemorial; though probably for a long period they had only searched for the rich silver ore near the surface; nor was this imperfect mode of mining carried on without occasional interruptions. The citizens were still too deficient in capital as well as in the art of mining, to engage in any works on a large scale or for any length of time.

"Solon's classification of the citizens according to their income, is sufficient to shew how limited the wealth of the Athenians was even shortly before the

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[1] History of Mining among the Ancient Nations, p. 68, et seq.

[2] Xenoph. de Redit.

Persian war. About that time the mines of Attica rose into great importance; and at the commencement of the Persian war the public revenue from these mines amounted to 40,000 thalers.[1] In process of time these mines must undoubtedly have produced even greater profits, when the spirit for mining was so greatly increased, and increasing capital enabled men to pursue it with more energy.

"These great sources of public revenue and private gain, aided as they were about the same time by the foreign conquests of the Athenians, by the acquisition of the productive gold mines of Thrace and the Island of Thasos, became one of the most efficient causes to which Athens was indebted for her increasing splendour and power.

"The profits arising from those great sources kept flowing into Athens until the time of that war which the Athenians carried on with their rivals and enemies in the Peloponnesus. This unfortunate war put an end to the flourishing condition of those mines as well as to the re-established strength of the republic."

SECONDLY. — THE FLEET, which was expressly formed by Themistocles to gain THE DOMINION OF THE SEA. He bestowed particular care on the constructions of the haven of Peiræus, and succeeded so well in his views, that twenty new galleys were annually added to the navy. Foreign artificers, who had settled at Athens, were declared free from taxes; whereby

[1] Taking the thaler at 2*s.* 6*d.* it amounts in English money to 5000*l.*— *Translator's note.*

the population of the state was augmented, arts promoted, and maritime power extended.[1]

Athens by such means became mistress of the sea, and was enabled, *first*, to subject the islands, or at least to make them tributary allies; *secondly*, to protect its commerce, open foreign ports to her merchant-vessels, and to appropriate to herself, if not the entire, yet the principal trade of Greece; *thirdly*, to form colonies and establish factories along the line and route of her commerce; and *fourthly*, to conquer any place she might deem of particular importance to her trade or desirable in any other respect.

These several circumstances formed the groundwork for that state of things which were fully developed in the

Sixth Period. — The prosecution of the war with Persia offered the Athenians continual opportunities of gaining those ends by their superior force at sea, and to further their designs upon the *supremacy* of Greece. With the increase of foreign power and influence their domestic affairs assumed a new aspect after Themistocles and Conon had begun to embellish their hitherto unattractive city.

Every Athenian felt with a self-congratulating pride, that Athens was become the chief city of Greece; and her sovereign people, justly conscious how much they had contributed towards the glorious issue of the Persian war, now wished to reap the fruits of those exertions.

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[1] Diod. xi. 43.

Pericles, who had gained the favour of the people by his popular behaviour, on being called to the helm of government, formed his designs and measures in accordance with this state of the public mind.

Though he was, perhaps, the leading character among the aristocracy, he now decidedly adopted the democratic party. His regulations uniformly tended to favour the people, though at the same time he acquired the good wishes of all parties by the splendour with which he raised Athens to the metropolis of the world. We shall now give the CONSTITUTION AS IT WAS UNDER PERICLES.

The ancient criminal courts of justice remained; but the authority and power of the Areopagus were broken. The chief care of religion, the laws, and the magistracy, was from that time vested in the HELIÆA and college of the NOMOPHYLACES, or guardians of the laws.

The chief offices of the administration and government still continued, by alternate succession, with the NINE ANNUALLY ELECTED ARCHONS. Between these and the people stood the council of 500 (βουλη), whose members were annually chosen from all the different tribes, fifty from each, and therefore divided into ten classes, each of which presided in a succession decided by lot, the first four classes for thirty-six days, the remaining classes for only thirty-five days. The presidents for the time being were called PRYTANES; from them were chosen ten weekly presidents, called PROEDROI, and from these again the president for the day, called EPISTATES, who had the privilege of an-

nouncing any newly proposed measure, who had also the state seal, the keys of the Acropolis, and of the treasury in his keeping. This whole senate was a state council, in which all public matters were discussed previously to their being submitted to the decision of the

ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE, who pronounced the final decision. The ordinary assemblies, which took place four times within thirty-four days, were appointed for mere ordinary matters.[1] When an extraordinary assembly took place, tablets were hung up in places of public resort announcing the matters to be decided on.

These assemblies were first held in the AGORA (forum or market), afterwards in the THEATRE of BACCHUS, or on the PNYX, a large square in front of the Acropolis, though they were not bound to be held at any particular spot. An Ecclesia, according to *law-statutes,* consisted of 6000 citizens; they gave their votes by holding up the hand (*cheirotonia*), in other cases, by means of small stones or beans. By such decision only, any proposed measure became the law of the land. Moreover, all matters relative to war, to the making of peace, to religion, and to the state in general, were submitted to the decision of these assemblies, and in all cases an appeal was allowed to this tribunal.

There were ten municipal COURTS OF JUSTICE (δικαστηρια), where public and private causes were

[1] Sigon. de Rep. Ath. ii. 4.

adjudicated. 1, the HELIÆA, the judges in which were called HELIASTÆ; 2, in the temple of LYCUS; 3, the TRIGONON; 4, the MELICHUS; 5, PARABYSTON; 6, the new court of justice (Καινον); 7, in the ODEUM; 8, in the CYNOSARGES; 9, in the TEMPLE OF THESEUS; 10, in the BUCOLEUM.[1]

To conduct the several branches of public business a great number of persons were appointed to offices, perhaps rather as a means of securing popular influence than from any actual necessity. Whatever the motives may have been, they formed a considerable body.

For the special service of the public there were appointed — DEMARCHS, magistrates for the different districts; PHYLARCHS, magistrates for the different tribes; and the PHRATRIARCHS, among whom we may also reckon the PHYLOBASILEIS, or tribe-kings, who had to perform the same sacrificial duties for their respective tribes which the Archon-Basileus performed for the whole community.

Among those who were properly public officers, we may mention the EPIGRAPHEIS, clerks of the court; the LOGISTÆ, or inspectors of the public accounts; the LEXIARCHI, with their thirty assistants, and the police-guard, the TOXOTAI of 1000 men; the GRAMMATEIS, registers and notaries of different denominations.

To the regular courts of justice were attached the EPAGOGEIS and EISAGOGEIS, introducers who took account of certain accusations and brought them into

[1] Matthai Misc. Phil. part ii. iii.

the several courts. There were likewise THE ELEVEN (*οἱ ἕνδεκα*), who had the care of the prisons and the execution of the different sentences. To the Police department belonged the TEN ASTYNOMI, or inspectors of the police, with many inferior officers who had the superintendence of the streets, water-courses, and fountains. There were also INSPECTORS OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and particularly of the CITY WALLS.

Besides these, there were numerous inspectors for particular purposes: such as inspectors of the morals and the dress of women called *γυναικοκόσμοι* or *γυναικονόμοι*.

THE MILITARY STRENGTH of Athens included both land and sea-forces. THE LAND FORCE consisted of three different sorts of foot-soldiers: HOPLITÆ, heavy-armed; PSILI, or light-armed (Tirailleurs); and PELTASTÆ, targeteers, a sort of soldier between the two first, armed with small shields.

The army was divided into bodies of 1000, 100, 50, and still smaller numbers of soldiers. The commanders were called respectively according to these numbers, Chiliarchs, Hecatontarchs, &c.

The TAXIARCHS were general inspectors. The CAVALRY was much less numerous than the infantry, never amounting to more than 1200 men, divided, like the infantry, into bodies of different numbers, under the command of their respective PHYLARCHS.

The HIPPARCHS held the same rank among the horse as the Taxiarchs among the foot. The knights only were admitted into this service; whereas all men, from eighteen years old to forty, were liable to serve

as foot-soldiers, but no one could be called upon to serve abroad until he had attained his twentieth year. The whole body of the army was no longer composed exclusively of citizens, but partly also of allies and mercenaries. The whole military force amounted to 60,000 men. As to the STRATEGI, or generals, in cases of urgent necessity, the supreme command was confided to one individual.[1]

THE NAVAL FORCE of Athens is a subject which deserves especial consideration. The ships of war were of different rates, and named according to their banks of oars: TRIEREIS, TETRereis, PENTEREIS (three, four, and five banked). To these were also added ships of burden called ὁλκάδες, φορτηγοί, and smaller craft for different purposes. The ships of war were manned in the following manner: rowers (ἐρέται), mariners (ναῦται), soldiers or marines (ἐπιβάται). The commander-in-chief was called the STOLARCH or NAUARCH, under whom served the TRIERARCHS.

The TRIERARCHY was one of the *special* services (λειτουργίαι) rendered to the state. One hundred and twenty of the most wealthy individuals were selected from each of the ten tribes; these were again subdivided, according to their incomes, into two halves (συμμορίαι) of sixty members each; and these were intrusted by the state with the arming and fitting-out of the ships of war; and since he who succeeded in launching his ship first, was presented with a

[1] Rast. Ancient Art of War among the Greeks.

Trierarchal crown of honour, there was always great emulation among them.

According to law the Trierarchy was held by the same person only for one year.

The crews were fed and paid by the state; though it very often happened, when the commanders were in want of money, that the Trierarch freely advanced the required sum, and hired mariners at his own expense.

These Trierarchies existed as early as Solon's time, though they underwent material changes when the navy had increased to 200 ships, each armed with a force of 200 men. In the second year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, the Athenians made a reserve of 100 of their best ships (to be used only in case of an invasion by sea) with their several Trierarchs.[1] Xenophon speaks of 400 annual Trierarchs;[2] though it would seem by this that there were more than one to a single ship.[3] Up to this time every citizen served the state in time of war and peace without receiving any remuneration; henceforth, however, Athenian citizens, as well as foreigners, when on service, in time of war, received pay.[4]

The state offices which, since the time of Aristides, had been considered posts of honour, to which any citizen might be appointed, now became lucrative situations. A judge received for every sentence he

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[1] Thucyd. ii. 24.

[2] De Repub. Athen. iii. 4.

[3] Boeckh, iii. 86, et seq.; Wolf, Prot. ad Lept.; Scheffer de Milit. Nav. Vett.

[4] Boeckh, i. 131.

pronounced one obolus; afterwards, it was raised to two; then to three. By this means the number of judges increased to 6000, and required an annual expenditure of above 18,750*l.* It was also considered not otherwise than just to allow each citizen who attended the popular assemblies the remuneration of one obolus for his loss of time. Money was even distributed among the citizens for their amusements: for instance, to pay for their admission to the theatres.

When we consider all these circumstances, the question naturally arises, "By what means Athens was enabled to meet this demand of public expenditure?" for, besides the above-mentioned, were the sums of money given away at feasts, the costly sacrifices, expenses of entertaining ambassadors, sums laid out on large public edifices, on works of art of all kinds, on theatres, &c.

The national property was too small to supply these demands; whence, then, we must inquire, did she supply them?

Public Revenue of Athens. — These sources were—*first*, contributions (φοροί) from the allied states.[1] *Secondly*, the duties on the exportation and importation of goods.[2] *Thirdly*, from the imposts called respectively "the *hundredth* and the *fiftieth*" (πεντηκοστη), which were let out (or farmed) to certain companies,[3] of which the chief director was called Ἀρχώνης.[4]

[1] Boeckh, i. 427, et seq.
[2] Boeckh, i. 358, et seq.
[3] Boeckh, i. 337.
[4] Valck. in Shuit. an. 159.

Fourthly, from confiscations of property, from fines and penalties (τιμηματα).[1] Profits arising from the sale of marble from the Hymettus and Pentelicus. The sums of money paid into the treasury by the different mining companies. The poll-tax on the μετοικοι (sojourners), every male paying annually twelve drachms, and every female half that sum; there was also a tax upon slaves.

From Aristophanes[2] we learn that in the year he wrote his *Wasps* the revenue of the state amounted to 2000 talents (about 375,000*l*.). In that year, however, it appears that the revenue was uncommonly great; for Xenophon[3] speaks of the whole revenue as amounting only to 1000 talents, and at the time of Demosthenes it cannot have exceeded 400 talents.[4] We learn from a passage in Demosthenes (περι Συμμ.), that the value of all the property and riches of the Athenians amounted to 6000 talents. Polybius estimated it at 5750 talents; and Heyne is perhaps right in thinking that this valuation was made at a very low rate, for the purpose of fixing the amount of taxes to be paid in case of raising an armament or levying a contribution.[5]

The Athenians, in their Political Economy, made it their principal object to collect considerable sums of money to defray the necessary expenses of war.

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[1] Boeckh, i. 368, et seq.; Meier, de Bonis Damnatcr. et Fiscal. Debitor.; Berol. 1819.

[2] Aristoph. Wasps, 656.

[3] Anab. 7.

[4] Demosth. Phil. iv.

[5] Compare herewith Boeckh, book the fourth, section iv.

Thucydides (b. ii.) has left us a statement of the finances of Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. The treasury contained 6000 talents, which sum was contributed by their allies.

As long as the Athenians maintained the dominion of the sea, they could easily raise these contributions and protect their commerce; and, particularly at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, this dominion was of great advantage to them; but the unfortunate expedition against Sicily, and the occupation of Decelia by the Lacedemonians, greatly impaired the wealth of the republic. The deficiency, however, was made up by imposing heavier taxes.[1]

The political power of Athens was undoubtedly owing to her naval force, and her great prosperity to her commercial activity. At this period of her history, her fleets commanded the Ægæan and Ionian seas, and the Archipelago, where the islands were partly subjected, and partly made tributary. The following places were already subject to her, or became so: the islands Salamis, Ægina, Eubœa, Paros, Naxos, Thasos; and, on the important coast of Thrace, the cities of Amphipolis, Chalcis, Olynthus, Potidæa, and Byzantium.

The islands which were united with her in alliance were Chios and Lesbos in the Ægæan, and Corcyra and Zacynthos in the Ionian sea; and with the exception of Thera and Melos, all the islands of the Archipelago.

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[1] Thucyd. 7.

The Athenians sought to extend their influence and increase their authority by establishing colonies at different places. For instance, in lower, or southern Italy (Thurii), in the upper, or northern parts of Asia Minor, on the coasts of Macedonia, in Thrace, and on the shores of the Black Sea.[1] These last, in particular, were of the first importance to their commerce. During the Persian war, the allied islands also became dependent on Athens. These islands had, at first, furnished their own troops and fitted out their own ships; but Cimon afterwards proposed that they should only pay certain contributions in money. This proposal they accepted, and thereby lost their own naval power, which only served to strengthen that of Athens, and so enabled her to turn her confederates into tributary dependants. The original contributions for the prosecution of the war were now regularly enforced, and continued to increase. Under ARISTIDES these contributions amounted to 460 talents, under PERICLES to 600, and about the middle of the Peloponnesian war they increased to 1300 talents. Another advantage of equal importance which resulted to Athens from these circumstances, was that the

PRINCIPAL COMMERCE was now in the hands of

[1] The export and import duties were let during the Peloponnesian war for thirty-six talents (54,000 rix-dollars). This was termed the "*Fiftieth*." If to this we add the contractors' gain upon them, we may compute the whole foreign trade of Athens to have produced more than 2,000,000 rix-dollars annually. Among the ancient writers, see Xenoph. de Reditib. and Aristotle Polit.; and among the moderns particularly, Boeckh in all his works, and Walpole's Memoirs.

the Athenians. They not only disposed of the produce of their soil, but also of their manufactures, articles of luxury, works of art, &c. The number of their manufactories had greatly increased, and goods of Athenian workmanship became very celebrated, and were in great request.

By the import trade all descriptions of foreign goods and wares flowed into Athens; all kinds of merchandise might be found collected together in the Peiræus, which could scarcely be obtained singly elsewhere. With these goods they carried on a kind of retail or second trade, by exchanging them for wine at the different islands; this was carried to the Pontus, from whence again they brought other articles of merchandise.

While this trade increased the wealth of the Athenian citizens, it at the same time contributed essentially towards the flourishing condition of the state,[1] from the increase of the export and import duties; hence, that all necessary regulations were adapted for the management and protection of commerce.

There were ten directors of trade (ἐπιμεληται του ἐμποριου), five AGORONOMI in the city, and five in the Peiræus; ten METRONOMI, divided as the former; these were inspectors of measures, under whom the

[1] An Athenæ, "a castle on the coast of the Pontus," with a haven and temple of the Athenians, is mentioned by Arrian (Perip. p. 6), and even Procopius mentions it as a small town, Goth. iv. 2; In Scylax (p. 32) Odinios.

PROMETRETÆ (measurers of corn) probably acted. The sale of merchandise in general was under the care of the AGRONOMI, while the SITOPHYLACES were especially appointed to superintend and regulate the profits of the corn trade; first there were three, then ten of these appointed. Their duty was to keep regular accounts of the quantity of corn imported, to inspect the quality of the flour and bread, and see that the latter was of the proper weight and sold at the proper price.

The latter regulation was of early date, and existed at the time of Pericles. The former was not instituted until a considerable time after, when usurious profits by the sale of corn had become notorious, and it was found necessary to establish corn-magazines.

A commercial court of justice of the Nautodicæ was instituted to settle disputes between merchants and mariners; and the PROXENOS seems to have performed the duties of a commercial consul.

Besides these extraordinary means of increasing the revenue, the state had also two other sources, as from VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS (Epidosis), and from the LITURGIÆ, by means of which considerable state-burdens were imposed upon the wealthy. In time of peace were assigned to them the CHOREGIÆ, or the superintendence of all religious processions and theatrical spectacles; GYMNASIARCHIÆ, or superintendence of the gymnastic games; and HESTIASIS, or superintendence of the celebration of feasts after sacrifices. In time of war they had, in addition, the εἰσφοραί, or

first-tax, for military purposes, then the other regular taxes, and, added to all this, the TRIERARCHY.[1]

It is therefore no wonder that PERICLES, finding a very considerable sum in the treasury, was able to discharge, without danger or difficulty, the increased expenses of the state. This expenditure included not only the necessary outgoings both in peace and in war, but also the immense sums he laid out in embellishing the city with the finest productions of the art of modelling.

Every one knows that the time of Pericles was eminently distinguished for the flourishing state of arts and sciences.

It does not suit our purpose to give, in this place, their history; nevertheless, we are justified in making the attempt to answer the following question: How it came to pass that Athens should also, at that particular period, have been so pre-eminently distinguished for that which could neither be called forth at a moment by the commanding voice of the regent nor by his gold? We shall now, therefore, make an inquiry into the

MENTAL CULTIVATION of the Athenians. Down to the time of Solon and the Persian war, it is evident that Greece, properly so called, and with it Attica, remained considerably behind the Greeks of Asia Minor and of southern Italy, in mental cultivation. Even when the monarchical form of government was

[1] Concerning all this, see Wolf Proleg. on Demoth. Orat. adv. Lept. p. 85, et seq.

changed for the republican, and the spirit of the time had so powerfully raised and promoted lyric poetry, the islands were more distinguished than the continent of Greece.

In Attica we find only the art and science of the sacerdotal institution, which lie concealed in the traditionary legends of Eumolpus, Musæus, and Dædalus. Here, likewise, it is most probable that the arts and sciences were solely hereditary in the priestly institutions.

The Heroic Age, probably, first produced a change in the immediate education of youth. It partook of a military and priestly character, the former being the more predominant. Hence we derived those elements of instruction for the youth of Greece, Gymnastics and Music. In order that these might reach to the perfection to which they were afterwards carried, it became necessary to separate them still more widely from the institutions of the priests. The most important step towards this took place in Ionia by separating the singers of poetry (ἀοιδοί) from the priesthood, and wherever this was the case, a more rapid progress was made.

At Athens, from the time of Theseus, it was very slow in its progress, and Solon, in whose time the Gnomic poetry flourished, and legislation had reached a high degree of perfection, was the first person of any importance among the Athenians, who appeared as a philosopher and a poet, independent of priestly influence. But even he was principally indebted to foreign countries for his knowledge; and the effects

t had when practically applied, shewed that the mind of the Athenians had also become directed to the study of PRACTICAL LIFE; for, how could they otherwise have devoted themselves so earnestly to the construction of a political constitution and the regulation of private life?

Grecian literature was first cultivated at Athens under PISISTRATUS; and then it was that the effects of Homer's poems appeared there also, since they formed the ground-work of every youth's education.

About this time, when the drama developed itself in the rude farces at the rural feasts of Bacchus, there arose a further separation of poetry from religion. The drama, a species of poetry which pre-supposes an entire tendency of the reflective mind to consider the circumstances of practical life. It is worthy of remark on this subject, that in the Greek drama, which was by accident a combination of two different elements, the religious element, the Chorus, always held the highest place in dignity, at least in appearance.

The Persian war had also a wonderful influence on the drama; for, among the Greeks who served in it was a poet, whose mind was singularly formed by nature for the great and the extraordinary. At that time, when the drama formed itself, this poet, ÆSCHYLUS, found in his countrymen a race of people eminently susceptible of the beauties of his dramatic representations.

Never was the tone of the Athenian mind more

high than at that period, when every bosom glowed with patriotism and love of freedom. Every noble feeling was roused, the whole mind exalted, and every energy directed to the great and sublime. Excellence was not confined to the few; the boldest undertakings were not considered as extraordinary occurrences, and heroism seemed natural to them; and the contemplation on the unavoidable course of a fearful and mysterious destiny, as well as on that what the energy of man, guided by free-will was capable of performing, struck forcibly on their minds!

Among such a race of men it was that the poet lived, who himself saw every thing from that point of view only, which his own superior mind presented to him. At any time "*the powerful*" would have acted strongly on the minds of men; but how much more so at a time when his genius seemed but to give expression to that which was lying as a secret sentiment in every mind, and as a dimly shadowed feeling in every heart.

The dramatic poetry of Æschylus served as a model for all that followed. Its effects, in a religious point of view, regarded, as they were, with any thing rather than indifference by the priests, served, nevertheless, to complete what Homer had begun; and though his audience might come to the theatre for the sake of amusement, yet they returned with thorns in their hearts to follow up and explore the truth.

The great and penetrating genius of Æschylus, who exhibited life in its profoundest forms, has left in

its productions an everlasting stimulus for philosophical inquiry.[1]

Grecian philosophy had not yet flourished, except in Ionia and Italy; but now, when the eyes of all Greece were turned towards Athens, when riches flowed to her from all sides, and she was become the central point where talent was esteemed and rewarded, she soon became the seat of wisdom and learning. The two rival systems of philosophy of that day, the *Eleatic*, founded by Zeno, and the *Ionian* by Anaxagoras, found their way to Athens; for the Athenians were at that time become more susceptible of an interest in inquiries of that kind, and the results which these led to were of the most important nature. Zeno was the founder of the Sophistic school, and from Anaxagoras emanated the Socratico-Platonic philosophy, with all its branches.

These circumstances form an epoch, not only in the history of philosophy, but also in the history of mankind. But had these learned men even not visited Athens just at that period, the whole system of learning would, nevertheless, have taken a new course.

To describe the respective labours of each teacher and his followers is not our business in this place. We can now only give the results of those labours.

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[1] The Alexandrian Canon for tragedy is as follows: Æschylus, Ion, Achæus, Sophocles, Euripides. For comedy (*a*), ancients, Epicharmus, Cratinus, Plato the comedy writer, Aristophanes, Phericrates, Eupolis; (*b*) later, Antiphanes, Alexis; (*c*) modern, Philippides, Menandrus, Philemon, Apollodorus, Diphilus. Compare, besides this, Satyro plays and Hilaro tragedies.

Concerning the Sophists, we have merely to remark that, in a narrower sense of the word, they do not appear as teachers of philosophy, but as teachers of the art of government, politics, and eloquence. They could not have wished for a more glorious theatre for the display of their talents than Athens, or for a period more suitable to those sciences so essential to a democracy.

To any one ambitious of obtaining political power (of which description there were but too many), knowledge of government was indispensable, and to any one who attended a cause in the capacity of judge, advocate, or even as witness, eloquence and knowledge of the law were requisite. The Sophists, who professed to give instructions in all these matters, and ensure the successful practice of them, must undoubtedly have played thereby a conspicuous part at Athens.

As teachers of eloquence they must have made RHETORIC an object of deeper research, and with this were essentially connected DIALECTICS, the connexion of which with rhetoric is obvious from the very name having a similar origin with DIALOGUE. They could not foresee how essentially this would encroach upon philosophy, but they no doubt thereby paved the way for LOGIC, then an unknown science; for the theory of eloquence must have led to the theory of meditation; and these were the means by which Socrates obtained the distinguished praise of having "brought down Philosophy from heaven to dwell on earth." All philosophy up to that time had been applied mostly to *metaphysical* researches concerning the creation of the

world and the causes of things; from that time, however, it also comprehended *practical* life, whereof, in another direction, the tragic writers took advantage. Now a transcendental world first opened itself to mankind, and in proportion as the eye of philosophy pierced farther therein, in the same degree it released itself, as a science of reason, from the former fictions with which fancy had hitherto pacified its wants.[1]

It must strike every unprejudiced inquirer as singular, that the Greeks, by means of the plastic art, succeeded in representing the most perfect conception of their gods exactly at the same time when philosophy laid the foundations for the subversion of that religion, and Aristophanes was exposing their national gods to the laugh of scorn on the comic stage, and even the tragedians, especially Euripides, were undermining the ancient faith. This is a problem well worthy of solution.

It is certainly quite reasonable to bring into account the genius of Phidias, Polycletus, Alcamenes, Agoracritus, Myron, and Pythagoras, as well as the improved conception which the Hellenes constantly entertained of the human being, by which the sculptor elevated the *beau idéal* of human form into the representation of the deities, and the Greek Anthropomorphism, by means of the plastic art, rose to perfection; it is also

[1] After Anaxagoras and Socrates we have first to mention the two princes of philosophy, Plato and Aristotle. The first was founder of the Academic school, and many schools and sects of the Socratics, *e.g.* Cynics, Cyrenaics, Dialectics, Sceptics. From Plato and Aristotle were afterwards constructed the Stoic and Epicurean systems.

equally reasonable to take into the account the continual opportunities they had of contemplating beautiful forms, for all this must unquestionably have greatly promoted the Grecian art. Yet all this put together is not sufficient to explain why such pre-eminence did not exist much earlier at Athens.

In order to produce this new cycle of gods, greater religious liberty was required. Down to the time of the Persian war, the art of sculpture in Greece, as in the East, was subject to the influence of the priests, whom it served for religious purposes, and was carried on after the rules of most remote ages. Both in its choice of subjects and in their execution it depended on the dictation of the priests.

Even after the Persian war, when the temples which had been destroyed were more splendidly rebuilt (at which time the Ionian and Corinthian orders were first introduced), and also decorated with new statues of the gods, the artists, for the most part, could only labour under the direction of the priests; for the priests were well aware how much the idea of whatever is sacred in the faith of a people is associated with the idea of antiquity.

If, therefore, the Hellenic *beau idéal* of form, whose chief object was the representation of the perfect human figure, were ever to be realised, the art must be freed from the restraints under which it was held by the priests.

This now took place at Athens, where the statues in which the new conception of the gods was embodied, displayed a real falling off from orthodox antiquity;

the fruit, this, of a spirit widely spreading at that time, although not immediately acknowledged at all places. Pericles, while he promoted this tendency in the art of sculpture by means of Phidias, favoured also this new direction of religious matters, and, consequently, love for the art triumphed over religious orthodoxy.

As the mythi had been considerably changed by the æsthetic necessities of tragedy, so were they also by this circumstance,—that every artist in his designs was now free to follow the suggestions of his own mind.

At Athens the art of sculpture added greatly to the national glory, when it became independent of sacerdotal dictation. (The Ποικιλη, for instance, the joint work of Panænus, Micon, and Polygnotus; the Lesche,[1] likewise, the production of Polygnotus.) At Athens, also (where scene-painting gave rise to the art of perspective), the theatre became a principal school for the modellers and artists, whose new representations of the gods were better suited accompaniments to the new and more elegant style of architecture.

Thus a chain of circumstances, linked one with another, conspired to extend on all sides the dominion of mind, and to cultivate a taste for the beautiful in connexion with reason and intellect.

All this formed a triumph for human nature, the consequences of which upon our species will never cease to be felt. The result of the whole is, that

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[1] Λεσχη, a famous portico, or "locus publicus ubi confabulantur."—*Translator's note.*

Athens, in the time of Pericles, was raised to the zenith of political power, of wealth and splendour; that the arts had reached the summit of perfection, while the sciences, with mighty strides, were fast approaching it; and that Hellenism was carried out, in every concern of life, which, however, by an unfortunate course of policy, scattered with it the seeds of destruction.

The object of this policy was to maintain the sole dominion of the sea, and uphold the dignity of Athens with such severity and pride, that not even the most trifling offence was left unnoticed. By means of such severe principles their allies soon became their subjects, and a withdrawing from this state of dependency was punished as open rebellion. This was the more imprudent at a time when two different enemies were on the constant watch for the destruction of Athens; the envious jealousy of the other Greek states and the systematic bribery of Persia.

Pursuing incautiously her plans of ambition, Athens relied too confidently on the permanency of her resources, and neglected the economy of her revenues; and without even considering the consequences which must follow, if, together with the empire of the sea, her predominance should vanish, and, with her monopoly of commerce, her riches should fail, she, nevertheless, neglected entirely the value of her landed possessions.

Perilous as affairs thus stood abroad, they were no less alarming at home. The publicity of the law proceedings, and the speeches made on those occasions,

gave to the whole such a dramatic interest, that people crowded to them as if they were going to a theatre.

This not only promoted idleness (for which Aristophanes calls his countrymen CECHENÆI, *gapers*), but produced also an actual rage for litigation, a taste which the more easily became excessive, since the contending parties had no costs to pay for the administration of justice. The judges gladly maintained this spirit of contention for their own profit, and a crowd of poor citizens thronged to the popular assemblies, to partake of this paltry gain. To them, the few oboli allowed for attendance in the popular assembly were a sufficient attraction; consequently, the mere populace formed the majority, and, as might be expected, decided universally in favour of those demagogues who best knew how to flatter their inclinations and humours, and this very often by dint of the most impudent clamour. A pity it is that even the mental cultivation of the Athenians should have contributed to their destruction!

The ill repute of the SOPHISTS owed its origin to the fact that even they had not the power to raise themselves above the spirit of the age. They were led to apply their dialectics principally to trials at law and to politics; and whoever came to them for advice or instruction, came merely to learn the surest means of gaining most. The attempt, consequently, was made to examine carefully, in every point of view, the cases brought before them. That which seemed to promise the greatest profit was taken and illustrated, and where real grounds failed, the question at all events was

coloured with what looked like argument. This paved the way to the invention of FALLACIES, or SEEMING TRUTHS, on all occasions, which could not fail to have a very injurious effect on the public mind and character.

The Sophists charged very high for their instructions, so that persons of wealth and rank alone could afford to attend their schools, and these were best pleased when the morality which they taught did not wear too rigid an aspect. The masters, therefore, took good care to give to it a most friendly and inviting expression. The art of living under their guidance was solely how to enjoy life, and consisted only in agreeable sensations and the gratification of the inclinations, for which object every thing was allowable, if it were done with requisite PRUDENCE. Their art of life thus consisted in a refined system of sensuality; and since LUXURY follows in the train of trade and riches,[1] their system could not fail to have many admirers at Athens; a system which at least endangers good principles, and recognises no barrier for the protection of morals. Even the arts and sciences were made subservient to luxury, sensuality, and selfishness. All this was seen in the character of ALCIBIADES; and the period of the Peloponnesian war was one of such revolutionary practices, such licentiousness and frivolity, that the French Revolution can alone supply its counterpart.

[1] Reitemeier, Nature of Luxuries among the Athenians. (Göttingen, 1782.) Tychsen on the Luxuries of the Athenians, and their Influence on the State. Published 1782.

Under such circumstances Athens could not sustain herself, when, in addition, misfortune approached her from without. The Peloponnesian war itself had brought her nigh to the brink of destruction. She, however, escaped from total ruin this time, and threw off the yoke of the THIRTY TYRANTS; she even continued to display her predominance in intellectual powers during the periods distinguished for oratory and legislation.[1]

The subsequent fall of Athens was partly owing to the growing evils at home, and partly to the great political events which subsequently occurred in the history of the world. Athens, however, was great even after her fall; for, though vanquished, she carried off, as she had once before from Sparta, so now from Rome, a victory the most glorious recorded in the history of man,—the victory of superior genius and intellectual refinement. The victorious Romans sent their sons to be educated at Athens!

The schools of Athens were not closed until an edict was passed under Justinian to that purpose. DIOGENES, HERMIAS, EULABIUS, PRISCIANUS, DAMASCIAS, and SIMPLICIUS, sought an asylum in Persia

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[1] The orators of the first rank, according to the Alexandrian Canon, are, Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Æschines, Hyperides, and Deinarchus. True eloquence first began to degenerate under Demetrius of Phalerus. Had it also in this place been my intention to write a history of the literature and arts of Athens, I should in that case have had to consult historians, particularly Thucydides and Xenophon; as it is, I refer my readers to Grecian literature, and particularly to the word Atthidæ.

under the protection of Chosroes.[1] With these the long line of succession of the Grecian philosophers closes.

Athens was never greater than in misfortune; haughtiness and insolence in prosperity had of all things tended most to her downfall; yet the question still remains, whether or not her democratic practices, as well as the degeneracy of the Sophistic school, did not constitute a process requisite for bringing philosophy to that perfection in which we must recognise it as the richest fruit of Greek refinement.

By her philosophy, Athens became the teacher and benefactress of the world.

All the light of reason,—all exalted and inspired notions of the dignity and rights of man,—all the laws of a purer morality, and all aspirations after a sublimer nature,—emanated from her. She made laws for the empire of reason as well as for that of taste. So beautiful, so admirable, are the fruits of her energies and efforts, that they are even not too dearly purchased at the price of the fall of Athens.

GRUBER.

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[1] Chosroes the First, called the great king of Persia, A. D. 532.—*Translator's note.*

Present State of Attica.[1]

Attica is at present divided into four districts: Messoïa, Catta Lama, Eleusina, with the mountain of Casha, and the jurisdiction of Athens. These districts contain about 60 townships, with a population of nearly 12,000 inhabitants. Of these scarcely 1000 are Turks, and 5000 who pay the *Charatch;* the remaining part of the population consists of women and of children under twelve years of age.

The Charatch is levied in three different assessments, according to the amount of property. The first class pays eleven piastres; the second, half that sum; the third, to which the poorer classes belong, 100 paras. In each of these districts there is appointed a Soubashi and Scrivano, who is a kind of tax-gatherer.

The Waiwode receives the tenth of the corn-crops. All vineyards, cotton and madder plantations, and garden grounds, only pay eight paras per strema, that is, for every forty square paces of ground. A proprietor (*οἰκόκυρος*) purchases several such stremata, on which he builds a number of huts, and puts into them a number of industrious labourers; these he supplies with cattle, and a sufficient quantity of corn to sow the ground, and then leaves to them the entire cultivation.

The Soubashi during harvest collects the tenths of the crops for the Waiwode. The remainder is divided

[1] *i. e.* at the time of writing this Essay, about 1820.

into three equal parts, of which the proprietor takes two and the tenant one; but in case a tenant, which often happens, has cattle and a house of his own, he then shares equally with the landlord.

The most lucrative product of Attica is oil. The quantity made annually is calculated at 20,000 measures, $5\frac{1}{2}$ oces to the measure, each of these being valued at 100 paras.

The number of goats in Attica is estimated at 100,000, the sheep at 60,000. During the winter months a kind of nomade tribe drive their flocks from the Thessalian mountains into the valleys of Bœotia and Attica, for which they pay as an indemnification a certain sum in money to the Pasha of Negroponte, and the Waiwode of Athens. These people are very celebrated for their manufactures in wool, especially for a kind of mantle, or coverlet, which is much worn by Greek sailors.

5000 sheep and 10,000 goats are annually slaughtered in Attica, of which, however, great part is consumed in the neighbouring districts. 2000 of the goat-skins are made into sacks (δερματα) to preserve wine, oil, and honey. Most of the remaining skins are manufactured into a kind of leather, and in that form are exported, though most are used in the country itself, and made into sandals, shoes, and boots. All the goat's hair is used in manufactures, and produces annually 250 cantari, reckoning 20 piastres to the cantaro.

The number of draught oxen is estimated at 3000.

Cows are not so numerous, for the milk of sheep and goats is generally used. From four to eight oxen are considered a sufficient number for tilling 100 stremata of land.[1]

GRUBER.

ATHENS, called by the modern Greeks SETINE, by the Turks ATINA (Atiniah), is now only celebrated for its ruins, as the whole town does not consist of more than from 1200 to 1300 houses. Of these 400 are inhabited by Turks, the rest by Greeks and Albanians. The streets are narrow and dirty. The chief authority is vested in the *Waiwode*, with whom is associated the assembly of Elders, called by the Greeks *Archons*, *Codschabaschi* by the Turks. There is also a *Disdar*, or commander of the fortifications.

The taxes annually produce between 700 and 750 purses,[2] that is, from 350,000 to 375,000 piasters; though the Archons, by extortion, frequently raise double that sum.

The following are the ANCIENT REMAINS of Athens, still standing in a more or less perfect state: the temples of Artemis, of Theseus, and the columns of a temple dedicated to Zeus Olympius; the ruins of the theatre of Bacchus, the Areopagus; the Pnyx, the Museum; the Odeum; the stadium of Atticus Herodes and the aqueduct of Adrian; the monument of Ly-

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[1] Remarks respecting Attica by Dr. Sibthorp, in Walpole's Memoirs, 141–151.

[2] One purse being 5*l*. sterling.

sicrates, commonly termed the lantern of Demosthenes; the monument of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, or the so-termed Tower of the Winds. For the preservation of the two last-mentioned, we are indebted to mendicants; the latter being inhabited by Dervises, the former by Capuchin monks. Lastly, we have to mention the Acropolis, with the Parthenon and Propylæa. These have suffered more from the canon of the Venetians and Lord Elgin's scientific robbery[1] than from the effect of time. Of the sacred grottoes, those of Apollo and Pan are still pointed out, and of the celebrated rivers and springs, the Ilissus and fountains of Callirrhoe (called *Enneacrunos*, or the nine springs); of the surrounding mountains formerly so celebrated, the view from the Anchesmus is the most splendid. From the Pentelicus the finest marble is still produced, and from the Hymettus the richest honey.

The road from the Acropolis, or citadel, to the Peiræus is four miles in length. The Peiræus, by the modern Greeks, is called Porto-Draco; by the Italians, Porto-Leone.

The present population of Athens is estimated at

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[1] "It is painful to reflect," says Dodwell, in his *Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, "that these trophies of human genius, which had resisted the silent decay of time during a period of more than twenty-two centuries, which had escaped the destructive fury of the iconoclasts, the inconsiderate rapacity of the Venetians, and the barbarous violence of the Mohammedans, should at last have been doomed to experience the devastating outrage which will never cease to be deplored."—*Translator's note.*

15,000 souls. There are five mosques, one Catholic and several Greek churches.

The memory of the ancient ACADEMY and STOA is kept alive in the minds of the modern Greeks by a Lyceum and by a newly-founded institution of the Philomusæ, or friends of the muses.[1]

VON HAMMER.

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[1] Athens is the residence of the Chelibi Effendi, collector of imposts, of a Greek archbishop, and a mufti, who has the chief local superintendence of every thing connected with the religion and laws of Mohammed. It is also the residence of a cadi, who is annually appointed by the cadileskier of Romelia, and has the administration of justice.

The police is under the surveillance of the Waiwode, who also collects the taxes of Athens and of Attica.

The Greeks who, in other respects, groan under an oppressive tyranny, have here, nevertheless, retained some privileges by which their commerce, agriculture, and different trades, are well protected.

The Athenians elect annually among themselves four ARCHONS, or magistrates, who have a kind of authority over their own citizens, and can even bring their complaints to the throne itself. In common with these the EPITROPI, who superintend the different quarters of the town or parishes, arrange the payment of imposts.

The industry of the Athenians is at present almost entirely directed to the cultivation of corn, and the making of wine and oil; though they also trade to Salonichi, Smyrna, and all the ports of the Morea.

From ten to fifteen soap-manufactories are constantly at work. They also manufacture for their own use morocco leather, cotton and silk stuffs, and a kind of linen cloth for shirting. (The above is taken from Olivier's *Travels through Asia and Turkish Europe*, in Speiker's *Journal*.) We shall now also add some thing about the latest excavations made in the neighbourhood of Athens. (Copied from a letter of Lusieri, 1813.)

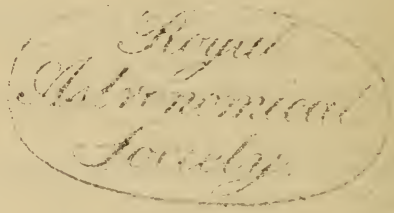
On the outside of the ancient wall which surrounded the town, there have been discovered tombs, some containing vases and some without any.

Urns were also found, but many of them without vases. These were of Pentelic marble and of good workmanship. In general, vases were found inside the urns and close around them.

On the road leading from the Peiræus to Athens, Fauvel discovered a tomb of the same form as that one on the coast of Troy: the contents were similar. (Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 321–324. Compare with this the Enc. Magaz. for March, 1812.) Lord Aberdeen found in opening a tomb a vase, the figures on which very much resemble the Etruscan style.

These figures and symbols refer to a person who was initiated in the mysteries of Dionysus. One figure, standing near the altar (which has an Ionic capital), holds a sistrum, shaped like a mirror, similar to the one in Pittur. Ercol. t. i. tav. 15; see the same work p. 540, and tav. p. 323.

The same person also found a *Sigillarium* of stone, which, from the circumstance of the feet being connected together, he considered as made anterior to the Dædalian period. The arms were in the attitude common to most of the Egyptian statues of the gods. (Brachia decussatim composita.) Whether, being a female figure, it represents Aphrodite, is left as a matter of conjecture. (See the same work, page 541 and its frontispiece.)



THE END.

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